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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1986**



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NEED TO STRENGTHEN PARTY ROLE IN ARMED FORCES STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Dec 81 pp 2,3

[Article by Gafur Cuci: "The Strengthening of the Role of the Party Leadership in the Army is Decisive"]

[Text] In his report to the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, among other things, that: "Our party has been and will always remain in the forefront of the struggle and of the work of the masses; it leads everywhere in politics and ideology, in the government and the economy, in education, culture and science, in the army and in all the other sectors of the country. No problem, simple or complicated, current or long-range can be solved without the leadership of the party. This has been and remains a law for us." In the army, too, the party is its brain and its soul, the directing force which makes it unbreakable.

It is the great historic merit of the party that it has established the theoretical bases and principles of building, educating and preparing our People's Army, and perfected and creatively analyzed Marxist-Leninist military science, our Military Art or the People's Struggle. The experience of our country shows clearly that the army can always be revolutionary, an admired and trusted weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, able to carry out its mission in time of peace and war, when it is inspired and led by a Marxist-Leninist party. Only such a party can educate the army with the ideology of the working class, with the principles of proletarian morality, with the laws of revolution, with the feelings of proletarian internationalism and, to equip it with a people's military art in which the training and the tactics of this art are based on Marxist-Leninist theory, on the political, ideological and military principles and norms of the proletariat, on the geographical, economic and social conditions of the country.

The uninterrupted leadership of the party in every unit and detachment is a sure guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the great tasks which have been set for the revolutionizing of the army, the correct development of the class struggle, the further improvement of the education of the communists and of the cadres in the struggle against liberal-bureaucratic manifestations. The least weakening of the party leadership in the armed forces is wrought with very dangerous consequences, it leads them on the road of degeneration and transforms them from forces in the service of revolution into forces in the service

of counterrevolution, as has been the case with the former socialist countries. For this reason, the constant strengthening of the leading role of the party in every link of the army has been and remains one of our fundamental tasks, on which we must strongly rely in order to put into practice the historic decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. In this fundamental task it is important to concentrate on those main links and directions which ensure the raising to a higher qualitative level of the leadership work of the party, starting from the forums of the units and up to the basic organizations in the detachments and sub-detachments, as well as in those problems which have to do with the creation of a clearer concept for the realization of the leading role of the party and for a fuller expression of the work of the party.

The party has two fundamental tasks for the army: the ideological and political education and the education in military science of the communists, the cadres and the troops. Both of these tasks must proceed parallel to and in unity with each other.

The work carried out for the implementation of these fundamental tasks has further raised the leadership role and the sense of responsibility of the organs and of the basic organizations. The range of problems with which they deal has been expanded, by understanding more thoroughly the military line of the party. The mistaken and hostile concept, according to which the most important problems of training and of military readiness were established outside the basic organizations and their forums, has been successfully overcome. As a result, quite a few issues such as the work to understand the political, ideological and military content of the demands of the People's Military Art, for the drafting of the training programs, the problems which have to do with the reflection of a modern war, the issues which are closely related to the maintenance of high readiness, the training of cadres and of other staffs, have been better dealt with and carried out in compliance with the increasing demands of the party. As a result, the party organizations have always stood at the forefront of the life of the units and of the detachments, have better understood the problems and have put into motion the commands, the staffs and the youth organizations, so as to solve the outstanding issues.

In this direction, as previous experience has shown, the work must be further strengthened to create everywhere a clearer expression of the implementation of the leading role of the party, in order to understand and to carry out in practice the fact that the party manages in an organized and centralized manner and through the levers, commands and staffs, with functions, rights and tasks specified in the laws and rules in which the party line is reflected. The correct understanding of these issues protects the organs and the basic organizations from manifestations of parallelism and of duplication by the commands and staffs, and from cases when some cadres, because of the alleged ensuring of party leadership, find it easier to leave everything to the party organizations, thus discharging themselves of their responsibility.

In his report to the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Enver stressed: "The party has set forth tasks, rights and responsibilities for everyone. The party guides and controls them all, it demands accounts from all. But everyone must be responsible for carrying out his own work, everyone must work with determination and with initiative and, in accordance with the rights and duties assigned

to everyone within the party's line, he must bear full responsibility for the tasks entrusted to him in the sector which he manages."

Two fundamental tasks arise from the implementation of these instructions: first, we must further expand the work of further involving the party basic organizations and organs on the broad path of understanding and carrying out the military line of the party, the directives which have to do with the revolutionizing of political-military readiness, to better involve them in the concrete and scientific leadership of these problems. Practice shows that the improvement of the quality of the studies, of the analyses and of the discussions which are carried out regarding the problems of the implementation of the party military line, the deepening of the ideological and political aspect of the problems of training and of readiness, are prerequisites for protecting the party organizations, the communists and the cadres from amateurism, technocratism and other manifestations of bureaucracy. Secondly, we must raise the level of the work of forums and of basic party organizations with the levers, in order for them to open vistas and to constantly monitor their work and to put into motion more effectively the full implementation of their tasks and rights, without replacing them and without hindering their initiative.

The uninterrupted strengthening of the party leadership in every cell of the life in the army, is closely related to the struggle which must be carried out for the strengthening and stimulating of the internal life of the basic party organizations and organs, in order for them to always remain real cells of revolutionaries, fiery hearths of communist education. By carrying out the party instructions, the internal life of the party organizations has become livelier and more dynamic. Many lively debates, healthy and principled criticisms and self-criticisms are carried out, and the collective and individual responsibility of the communists has been strengthened in solving the problems and in implementing the tasks,

Especially extensive work has been carried out for knowing, understanding, implementing and defending the party principles and norms, for strengthening the unity of thought and action, of control and accountability, and to implement the party line in the entire life of the party organizations, of the commands and of staffs.

The struggle to know, understand, implement and defend the party principles and norms is not an aim in itself, but is closely related to the struggle carried out to put into practice the laws, orders, directives and rules in the army, because they reflect the party line. The communists and the cadres, therefore, must broaden the horizon in viewing and treating the issues, not only in the basic organization, but outside it too; they must always maintain a principled attitude and in action too, they must lead through their own example and must carry out the class struggle with determination. The level and the effectiveness of the work of the party organs and basic organizations increases when the independent activity and the initiative of the organs and of basic-organizations, of the communists and of the members of forums increase constantly, as important party norms, especially for the execution and implementation of the party directives and decisions in compliance with the concrete



conditions of the unit and of the detachment, by eradicating the lack of initiative which is noted in some cases. In this manner, the creative initiative of the commands, staffs and of cadres which is so necessary in the army, especially in the time of war, will increase further. The same thing must be said also about the need for the uninterrupted strengthening of the control, accountability, criticism and self-criticism as important party norms which raise to a higher degree the leading role and the qualitative level of the work of the party organs and basic-organizations. Here, despite the improvements which have been made, a special care must be shown because there still are manifestations of slowness, formalism and bureaucracy, work in campaigns and one-sidedness.

It is a great victory of the correct line and policy of our party that today in our country, the army and the people work and struggle in unison for the continued strengthening of the defense of the homeland and broad and correct concepts of these issues are being formed better and better. In connection with this, Comrade Enver teaches us: "The stronger the people, the stronger the army; the more ideologically and politically mature the people are, the more mature the army; the stronger the foundations, ideologically, politically and economically, the stronger the army too." The party has raised this inspiration both in the field and in the army today to a higher level. There is evident everywhere the revolutionary joint work of the workers, cooperativists and soldiers, who are educated, trained and work together. Today, the communists, the cadres and the working masses as a whole have a clearer impression of and a greater interest in the problems of defense in the field, and acquaint the units and detachments with the economic, social and cultural problems which concern the district the economic, social and cultural problems which concern the district or the zone. The consolidation of the SHLU [Free Military Schools] as Comrade Enver stated at the Eighth Party Congress: "is turning military training into an inseparable part of the life and activity of every worker." They have all had an influence on the further increase of the leading role of the party organs and basic-organizations in the units and detachments, have enriched the content of the party work in the army for the successful solving of the problems which have to do with the strengthening of the military training and readiness.

The ties and the army-field cooperation must be strengthened further on the correct and revolutionary road which the party shows us. Interest in the problems of defense must be constant both during the tactical-complex training and during training in the SHLU [Free Military Schools]; the ties and the army-field cooperation must be realized not only between the forums and the cadres in the district and in the military units, but especially between the basic party organization in the enterprise, agricultural cooperative and those in the detachments and sub-detachments, so that the questions of defense become organic parts of the activity of every communist, cadre and worker.

On the other hand, we must further deepen the work to better put into practice the party's recommendations that the army live constantly with the problems of socialist construction, with the fulfillment of economic tasks, and with the moral-political situation of the districts and of the zones, so that the army will know the territory from the military point of view, and be familiar



with the history of every village, city and district where it is located or where it is carrying out military actions. This is an essential demand which emanates from the popular character of our army and defense. The stronger and the more steel-like these ties and this cooperation, the stronger will the single field-army front become, which is a guarantee for the perfection of the combat readiness, the revolutionizing of training and the strengthening of the discipline and military order. And this will strengthen and raise to a higher level the leading role of the organs and basic-organizations in the units and detachments of the army to successfully face the great tasks of the perfecting of the defense capability of the country.

Armed with the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress, the communists, the cadres and all the forces of the army are fighting in a revolutionary spirit, bravely and with maturity to constantly strengthen the leading role of the party organs and basic-organizations in every cell of army life, as a decisive condition to further advance the previous achievements in the field of military training and preparedness, for the defense of the victories attained, the freedom and independence of our socialist homeland.

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## LILOV SPEECH DELIVERED AT PLENUM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov delivered at the ninth plenum of the Committee on Culture: "The Party Will Continue to Follow and Implement Unswervingly Its Marxist-Leninist, Socialist and April Cultural Policy"]

[Text] Dear comrades:

We lost Lyudmila Zhivkova, the chairman of the Committee on Culture, our unforgettable Nila, six months ago.

This was a severe loss.

First, because this was an outstanding and strong personality in the sociopolitical and cultural life of contemporary Bulgaria, who could influence the solution of basic problems in our development.

Second, because she was closely related to many valuable and important processes in the current development of our socialist society, our socialist culture in particular.

Third, because under her leadership our cultural front had reached in recent years considerable gains and outlined several quite promising trends of further development; she was a prestigious, purposeful and capable leader of the Committee on Culture and of cultural activities in the country.

Fourth, because she enjoyed international prestige and had extensive international connections. She was known and respected in countries close to and far from us. She had actively participated and had initiated important international undertakings and had done a great deal to relate even more closely contemporary Bulgarian culture with contemporary progressive world culture.

In general, Lyudmila Zhivkova was a key personality in the leadership of the spiritual area of our contemporary development, particularly in guiding artistic culture, and her absence today is being felt clearly and tangibly.

However, life goes on. The best way for expressing our gratitude and our feelings toward her is not to make noises but to show our readiness and ability to

continue skillfully and consistently to develop our socialist culture--the cause to which she dedicated her young life, bright efforts, creativity and zeal.

The question which the Committee on Culture plenum must resolve today is that of the new leadership of the committee which, despite the entire difficulty of the loss of Lyudmila Zhivkova, will continue the process of successful cultural development of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the path we have been following--the path of building the culture and civilization of the mature socialist society.

Allow me, before suggesting a candidate to the Politburo for a new chairman of the Committee on Culture, to consider from this viewpoint some central features of the work of the Committee on Culture and its leadership.

The most important among them is the question of the nature of the party's cultural policy we have been following and which we must continue to follow.

This is a basic and determining problem which restricts all other problems and activities on the cultural front and its management.

This question is topical. It has been asked by some people both at home and abroad, although differently, from different positions and for different purposes. Essentially, however, it may be reduced to the following: in the absence of Lyudmila Zhivkova, what will our cultural policy be, and will there be any changes or turns in it?

The party's answer is clear and unequivocal: no, no substantial changes are necessary or will take place in Bulgarian cultural policy. We shall continue to pursue steadfastly our current April cultural policy, tested by life and proved by life.

First, because this is the correct policy.

Second, because the pursuit of this policy has yielded major and substantial results.

Third, because it is a long-term policy which looks forward, not only to the present but to the future of our culture and cultural development.

Our cultural policy pursued so far, and which we shall continue to pursue, is a Marxist-Leninist policy. It is based, it is structured, it is guided by precisely the ideas, principles and criteria of Marxism-Leninism. It is their creative application under the specific and concrete conditions of our country.

Our cultural policy is a socialist cultural policy in terms of objectives, content, attitude toward our own cultural heritage and the culture of the other nations. We are guided by the tremendous role played by our culture and cultural activities in building the new socialist society and the new socialist individual.

Our cultural policy is a principle-minded and scientific cultural policy. It rejects subjectivism and voluntarism. It rejects and surmounts pressures from the right and the left. It does not reflect the interests, tastes, criteria and objectives of individuals or individual circles but the needs and interests of the people, of the entire society.

In a word, our policy is the Leninist April cultural policy of the BCP, which the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has been successfully implementing over more than 25 years. The nature of this policy is found in the party's program, the documents of party congresses and Central Committee plenums, Comrade T. Zhivkov's works, and the proceedings of cultural and creative associations' congresses.

This policy has been pursued in our country and has yielded significant results, particularly in the decade of the 1970s, results which were widely recognized domestically and far beyond the country's borders. The 1970s were a period of lasting and very promising achievements in our socialist cultural development. A number of events may occur but there could be no turning away from such lasting achievements in social practice or even less so in the development of what is talented and honest in our artistic and creative intelligentsia;

The creative intelligentsia rallied even more closely around the party's general line. Reciprocal trust and respect between the party and the intelligentsia developed and deepened. Today Bulgaria has a united intelligentsia, deeply convinced of and loyal to socialism, believing in the Bulgarian Communist Party. This is our very great accomplishment which we must preserve like the apple of our eye;

In the spiritual area a pride and creative atmosphere exists, distinguished by Marxist-Leninist clarity and principle-mindedness, with a full and broad approach to creativity in the interpretation and social implementation of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of art and culture. This is not only one of our most valuable gains but one of the basic factors governing the upsurge and unity of the cultural front and the increased international prestige of the Bulgarian People's Republic among the cultural public in the world;

It was no accident that in his report to the 12th BCP Congress, Comrade T. Zhivkov characterized the decade after the historic 10th congress as "particularly fruitful in the development of Bulgarian culture," and that the resolution passed at the 12th congress speaks of an upsurge in literature, art and culture. These are accurate assessments. Only people with short or prejudiced memories can forget the difficult conditions in which motion pictures, the union of Bulgarian film workers, the Union of Bulgarian Painters, the VITIZ and some other institutions had found themselves, and the profound qualitative changes which took place in their development, their considerable accomplishments and works created during that period in literature, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, music, the theater, the motion pictures, architecture and amateur performances in all areas of our culture. This also applies to both great individual accomplishments and the overall growth of our art. It would be a mistake to lose the feeling of realism and to exaggerate our accomplishments by considering that we have reached the peak of Olympus and have dazzled the world. However, it would be an even greater error to underestimate or belittle the great contemporary accomplishments of Bulgarian socialist culture;

Substantial progress has been achieved and valuable experience has been created in the organization, development and improvement of the social and governmental system of managing culture and cultural activities in our country;



The project of developing a nationwide esthetic education in the country as an essential, indivisible and irreplaceable part of the communist upbringing of the new socialist individual was organized and taken up along a wide front;

Energetic and broad international cultural activities were developed, which made a broader presentation of our culture on the international cultural scene possible and which increased its international fame and prestige noticeably.

All of this is the result of our proper cultural policy, its successful practical implementation and the talent and creativity of our people's intelligentsia in the area of culture.

Naturally, our cultural development and activities are not without problems, difficulties or weaknesses. Nothing of the sort. To claim this would have been not only erroneous but not serious.

We must eliminate some major weaknesses and difficulties.

We must resolve some ripe problems or complete some very important tasks and assignments in order to ensure the further accelerated cultural development of the Bulgarian People's Republic and ensure the increasingly fuller satisfaction of the cultural needs of the people.

Only naive or unconscientious people can ignore existing weaknesses, difficulties and unresolved problems or replace the April style of dissatisfaction, exigency and criticism with a semi-intellectual petit bourgeois complacency and self-admiration. This is not in the nature of our party. We do and must have a feeling of accomplishment but we cannot allow complacency and lack of criticism which means stagnation and decay in art more than anywhere else.

That is not what we are discussing today. What we are saying is that the policy which we are following in the field of culture is a Marxist-Leninist socialist cultural policy the consistent implementation of which has yielded valuable results and that consequently we must follow this tried road inflexibly and undeviatingly.

The other problem I shall discuss briefly applies to the need for an authentic interpretation and consistent practical implementation of our Marxist-Leninist April cultural policy.

We must heavily emphasize that this is not a question of failures or gross deviations. No such assessment has been made. On the contrary, the assessment of the Politburo is that:

The Committee on Culture and the cultural councils have a proper understanding of and are practically implementing the party's cultural policy;

The creative associations and cultural institutions have a correct understanding of and are properly implementing the party's cultural policy;

The tremendous and unquestionable majority of our intelligentsia and the most talented elements in it are convincingly accepting, actively defending and participating with satisfaction in the implementation of the party's cultural policy.

Such facts can be seen everywhere in our country and society. They are of priceless importance and it is precisely they that guarantee our further successful cultural development.

It is no secret, however, that some individuals who will proclaim their agreement with party policy loudly do not essentially follow it. Such things must be made entirely clear, for in the area of policy, including cultural policy, it is not rhetorical statements, regardless of how loudly they may be made, but reality that matters. Such comrades must be clearly made to understand that declarations concerning the April line cannot take the place of the implementation of this line.

We cannot remain indifferent or passive in the face of the conceptual or esthetic sluggishness and insufficient ideological combat capability of individual actions or works. We note a certain ideological carelessness and even an occasional irresponsibility on the part of some comrades and in some cases expressed in the underestimating of the ideological aspects of cultural activities or works of art, a certain tolerance of ideological vagueness or the danger of the penetration of alien ideological and esthetic influences and the dulling of ideological criteria and ideological exigency.

Although infrequently, works come out which clash with the esthetic foundations and principles of our socialist art, in terms of some rather tardy imported modernistic enthusiasms or dejected obsolete and already surmounted one-sided features of the past.

There have been isolated cases of the publication of scientific or journalistic works which represent a major deviation from the methodology and principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

There is also another group, although small, of literary and nonliterary publications characterized not by theoretical or political-ideological errors but by a meaningless pseudoscientific content. They not only lower the standards of theoretical and social thinking but fail to meet all social, scientific or cultural requirements, if we exclude the circumstantial and egocentric and financial interest of their authors.

The organization of control of printing and book publishing activities needs serious organizational-structural improvements.

The need for ideological purity, ideological combat capability and specific and overall sociohistorical purposefulness in our culture and art has not declined nor will it decline in the future. All problems related to the class-social and ideological struggle at the present time have been drastically aggravated. All of them remain and will remain in the center of contemporary mankind and, therefore, of contemporary art and culture. That is why we have no right to lower our

attention and concern for the ideological standard, potential and role of cultural activities or of our entire socialist culture and art.

Another equally serious danger is that of the resurrection of dogmatism and schematism, sectarian limitations and primitivism, which are manifested in proclaiming anything which cannot be included in the concepts or plans of their supporters as "alien" or, at best, "doubtful," and the attempts to revive old charges and trigger new polarizations and to discredit some of the most important personalities of our art and cultural development. This danger must not be underestimated, not only because it was only a short time ago that it caused severe damages and traumas to our culture and not only because dogmatism never appears as such but is always presented in an official uniform under banners and principles we consider sacred. It is mainly because the path of dogmatic ossification, sectarianism and schematism is the path of stagnation, suspicion, mistrust and unprincipled fighting, of the impoverishment and lagging of our culture.

We rejected this path categorically and once and for all. It is not the path which can lead us to our objectives of developing a socialist culture. We cannot wage a successful struggle against deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles and criteria in cultural activities on the basis of dogmatic positions. Attempts to lead us in that direction are doomed to failure, whatever their origin. We have put an irreversible end to dogmatism and distortions in cultural management in our country.

The dogmatists fail to understand and essentially attack the most important change which the April cultural policy contributed to us: the democratization of cultural life and its management. What is our answer to this? Naturally, attractions and weaknesses exist. We shall be criticizing and eliminating them. However, we shall not go back to a restricted, impoverished and bureaucratized concept of the cultural process and its management. This would not meet the interests and needs of the people or of society, not to mention the interests and needs of culture itself. Real socialist culture does not lack esthetic and artistic variety. Although uniform in its nature, it is rich in its historically specific aspect as a social phenomenon which has inherited everything progressive created before it and which encompasses within it the rich artistic and esthetic variety of contemporary works and values created by original authors, searchings, discoveries and styles whose ideological and social foundations lie in socialism.

We shall not yield to the ideological-esthetic amorphousness and omnivorence, nor shall we yield to ideological-esthetic sectarianism, exclusiveness and vulgarizing. This applies both to our domestic cultural life and to the country's international cultural policy.

Today the need for comprehensive and constant interaction and rapprochement with the great Soviet culture and art and the expansion of relations and intensive cooperation with the cultures of the socialist countries assume exceptional importance. We are an inseparable part and one of the builders of global socialist culture. This defines the main orientation and main concern of our foreign cultural policy and activity.

We must also strengthen and continue our active contacts, reciprocal exchange and cooperation with the cultures of other countries throughout the world in the



spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. In this area as well we do not intend to go back. Here as well we shall be expanding our gains and marching forward.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is not a closed cultural society. We value and are not hostile to the progressive cultural legacy and progressive contemporary culture of any country in the world. Our objective is actively to participate in the global cultural process, maintain active contacts with the best works and creators of global art and culture, rather than engage in national cultural isolation. We are proud of the achievements of our national culture. They represent our worthy contribution to the cultural treasury of the world. However, we want more people and nations throughout the world to become familiar with them and are aspiring to the peaks of global progressive culture, rather than find ourselves in the position of that countryman of ours who, according to the ironical saying, believes that "no mountain is higher than Vitosha and no river is deeper than the Iskur."

Our cultural policy represents the extension and enrichment of our foreign policy through other means. It is a basic instrument and factor in the overall policy and activities of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the international arena.

Finally, let us discuss the people's appreciation of art and cultural activities.

The appreciation of the people is the highest appreciation of a given work, creator, creativity and cultural activity. It neither replaces nor lowers the role of the professional assessment but is higher than anything else, for art is created for the people. It lives in the people and in its time, and must undergo the test of the people and time.

This is axiomatic in the case of our socialist society and socialist culture.

The Committee on Culture and the creative associations cannot successfully guide our culture unless they know, value and take into consideration the opinion and appreciation of the working people.

However, the people's appreciation is a complex phenomenon and concept. It cannot be handled arbitrarily and irresponsibly.

We must severely criticize those who underestimate or show an arrogant attitude toward the people's appreciation of art, as well as those who assume the monopoly of being the only legitimate spokesman for the people, for the working people, although they frequently are not working people themselves.

We must ensure the necessary conditions and means for the people to express themselves and their evaluation of cultural events and creations.

The Committee on Culture must develop its own methods and channels which will provide it authentic, complete and representative information of the people's appreciation and the public opinion of the working class, the agriculture workers and the various age groups of specific artistic and cultural manifestations or works.



The study of public opinion and the manifestation and study of the people's appreciation must be organized on a scientific and high-level basis. Today we can no longer manage without organizing this work on a steady, proper basis with a feeling of incomparably greater responsibility.

Comrades:

On the basis of these considerations, the BCP Central Committee Politburo calls upon the plenum of the Committee on Culture to staff the committee with the type of management which will be able to continue our Leninist April policy in the field of art and culture.

The Politburo suggests that the candidacy of Comrade Georgi Yordanov, Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, for the chairmanship of the Committee on Culture be discussed.

You know Comrade Georgi Yordanov well. You are familiar with his biography, his development, his very close and successful joint work with Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova, the past chairman of the Committee on Culture, his valuable practical and human qualities and his active involvement with and participation in the country's cultural life. I think that it would be unnecessary to describe them to you. The Politburo is convinced that he will be able to carry out this newly assigned mission successfully and properly. Naturally, he will remain in his position as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, which would not be detrimental to the Committee on Culture.

The Politburo is confident that our cultural front will continue to make new great progress in its development, in building the culture of mature socialism and in the implementation of the party's program and the resolutions of its 12th congress.

This is guaranteed by our proper cultural policy, our talented and united creative intelligentsia and by you, the leaders of our cultural front.

I thank you for your attention.

5003

CSO: 2200/64

REPORT ON PLENUM ON COMMITTEE ON CULTURE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Feb 82 pp 1-2

[BTA Report: "Always Loyal to the April Cultural Policy; Committee on Culture Plenum"]

[Text] The ninth plenum of the Committee on Culture was held at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture yesterday. It was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Geogi Yordanov, Stoyan Mikhaylov and Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council.

Also attending were heads of the creative unions, members of the coordination councils of the Committee on Culture, heads of creative institutions and independent units, chairmen of okrug culture councils and representatives of public organizations.

The plenum was opened by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, who asked for a one-minute silence in honor of the memory of Lyudmila Zhivkova.

A speech was made by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary.

(The full text of Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's dictated speech is published separately.)

Then, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov made the motion that the candidacy of Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, for chairman of the Committee on Culture be discussed.

Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Council of Ministers deputy chairman, was elected chairman of the Committee on Culture by unanimous vote.

Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee on Culture, warmly thanked those present for their trust. It fills me with an awareness of duty and responsibility, he said.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov stressed that the party's Leninist April general line and its cultural policy, which has passed the test of time, is the only accurate one.

It is consistent with the objective requirements of the stage of building a developed socialist society and is the living echo of the basic interests of the people and their age-old aspiration for freedom and justice, construction and beauty. Democracy in cultural management is our great accomplishment, he said. The spiritual upsurge leaves its mark on all manifestations of society and on the education of the new man. The values created through the centuries, nurtured and enriched by the people during hard times, merge today with the major creative gains of socialism. Our cultural cooperation with the great culture of the land of the soviets, the cultures of the fraternal countries and the progressive culture of fraternal peoples is becoming richer. The great 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state was only one of the occasions or the convincing manifestations of the international prestige and good reputation of our homeland.

One of the major gains of the April line in Bulgaria, Comrade Georgi Yordanov went on to say, is the ideological unity of our intelligentsia rallied around the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Today every worker in literature and the arts has broad opportunities for creative work.

The chairman of the Committee on Culture assured the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov that the workers in Bulgarian culture will continue to fulfill their duties and will respond to the trust and support of the party and the people with worthy creative accomplishments.

The plenum was addressed by Academician Deshko Uzunov, hero of socialist labor and people's painter, Deserving Actor Svetozar Donev, chief artistic manager and director of the National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet, Academician Panteley Zarev, hero of socialist labor and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Prof Nadeshda Seykova, rector of the Krustyu Sarafov VITIZ [Higher Institute of Theatrical Art], Atanas Stoykov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Scientific Association for Art Studies, Nedyalko Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Burgas Okrug Culture Council, Nayde Ferkhadova, Kurdzhali Okrug BCP Committee secretary, People's Actor Khristo Khristov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers, and Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers.

All the speakers emphasized that the past 25 years, during which the April party line was systematically applied, developed and enriched, had yielded abundant results in all fields of our rich spiritual life. A bright and creative atmosphere developed, which released the strength for new and inspired actions in the name of the people and the party. Socialist Bulgaria and Bulgarian culture have earned high recognition throughout the world. The great achievements in artistic creativity, particularly in the last decades, are a guarantee that in the future as well our cultural front will march forward with even greater and more confident steps. This is guaranteed by the ideological unity of our intelligentsia rallied around the BCP Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The Committee on Culture plenum relieved from his position Milcho Germanov, first deputy chairman and member of the Committee on Culture bureau, Aleksandur Raychev, deputy chairman of the committee, and Krum Vasilev, member of the committee's presidency, who had been transferred to other positions; Emil Aleksandrov was relieved from membership in the committee's bureau for reasons of expediency.

People's Painter Prof Svetlin Rusev was appointed first deputy chairman of the Committee on Culture with the rank of minister; People's Actor Prof Dimitur Tupkov was appointed deputy chairman; Milen Marinov was appointed deputy chairman and general director of the International Cultural Activities Main Directorate.

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CSO: 2200/64



## CULTURAL POLICY OF ZHIVKOVA TO CONTINUE

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 8 Feb 82 p 3

[Editorial by Grigor Chernev]

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the Committee for Culture was held last week. As is known, it took up and decided organizational questions involved in filling the positions in the committee's new leadership. But the purport and sense of its proceedings went far beyond what is indicated in the agenda.

To what do we refer?

Once more the unshakeable unity of our artistically creative intellectuals and of our cultural workers around the April party line, around the party's Central Committee and the original founder of the April line, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, has been clearly and categorically expressed. It is expressed at a time when the assessments and plans of the Twelfth Congress are making their stamp on our entire socio-political, economic and spiritual lives, when cultural figures, together with all the working people, are toiling selflessly for their transformation and for the development and enrichment of our socialist fatherland in every aspect. It is expressed not only through the new vote of confidence, not only through emotional and confident words, but above all through real artistic and cultural values.

Today we can clearly see the part that Lyudmila Zhivkova played in bringing this about—the significance of her ideas and the things she started, her initiative and scope, her proverbial energy and tenacity. This readily explains both the sorrow over her untimely death and the desire to work her example and her deeds into the texture of our socialist culture's today and tomorrow.

There is only one answer to the question of the nature and content of our cultural policy in the absence of Lyudmila Zhivkova. It is contained in Comrade Aleksandur Lilov's address to the plenum: "The party's answer is clear and unequivocal: No! No substantial changes are necessitated and there shall be none in the cultural policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic. We will continue to pursue unswervingly our present April cultural policy that has been tried in practice and proved in practice."

In the new frank dialogue that took place between party and cultural figures at the plenum, once again the high praise of the Twelfth Party Congress for the upsurge

in literature, art and culture was emphasized; once again the serene creative atmosphere that prevails among our artistic intellectuals was pointed out. But these universally recognized and significant results must not turn our heads or sow complacency in our ranks. We must soberly and realistically look at the problems of our cultural development and discern the shortcomings and weaknesses such as "underestimation of the ideological aspects of cultural events or artistic works," such as the "danger of a revival of dogmatism and oversimplification, of sectarian narrow-mindedness and primitivism." The party position on these and other basic questions of our cultural policy has been clearly set forth, without beating about the bush or covering up discrepancies, but with a sense of perspective and with confidence in the energies and abilities of our creative cadres and workers on the cultural front to overcome the shortcomings and dangers.

Writers, artists, moviemakers and public figures spoke at the plenum. Apparent in their words--sincere and honest--was the sense of stringency awakened in them. "Today more than ever," said poet Nedyalko Yordanov, "cultural workers and artists have great political powers and unrestricted creative rights. And this demands of us that we be on the crest of the great wave of the age, that we be responsible to our nation both as creative artists and as citizens as well as ordinary people."

There is no doubt that this awareness of inseparability from and involvement in the times, combined with constant and persistent work, will yield new fruits in the field of Bulgarian socialist culture.

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CSO: 2200/60

**'DER SPIEGEL' REPORTS GDR ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES AGAINST WESTERNERS**

**Security Ministry Document Revealed**

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 9, 1 Mar 82 pp 36, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 48

[Unattributed article:] "'Mielke's Signature Hurts Them'—'Order No 21/74' Discloses How the State Security Service Watches and Shadows Diplomats and Western Journalists"]

[Text] Bugs in the official car of the Bonn representative, bugged telephones, breaking gangster-movie style: an order by the minister for state security makes it plain how the GDR deals with Western diplomats and journalists—the purpose being "to safeguard the GDR" from the class enemy.

The German ambassador in Prague was in the mood for a little joke on New Year's Eve. One day before, Gerhard Ritzel told his wife he wondered whether the Czech state security service would be debonair enough to wish him a Happy New Year.

Next day at midnight, the Ritzels went to their window, champagne glass in hand. Suddenly, at twelve on the dot, the lights across the street from the Yalta hotel on St Venceslas Square where the Bonn temporary mission's offices are went on. The curtains were drawn and more than a dozen men appeared, raising their glasses and shouting "na zdрави" (to your good health).

Bugged apartments, bugged telephones, obvious or less obvious surveillance are all part of everyday life for Western diplomats and journalists residing in the East bloc. Such New Year's Eve jokes like the one in Prague in 1975 are the exception.

The PHE has incontrovertible evidence of just how seriously and meticulously the guardians of real socialism go at it. It has obtained "Order No 21/74" issued by Erich Mielke, the GDR minister for state security.

The 19-page typewritten document issues the same pedantic guidelines for the GDR that are applied in the other communist countries as well. An army of agents is on the job around the clock shadowing Westerners—be they diplomats or correspondents—listening in on their conversations, throwing their apartments open to view, spying on their love life—all of it based on Lenin's premise that international law and treaties are well and good but that control is even better.

The West German authorities obtained the secret document from the former SSD First Lieutenant Werner Stiller who switched sides to West Berlin via the S-Bahn in January 1979. In an artificial leather suitcase the BND double agent brought over 20,000 MFS documents—some of them originals, some photocopies and microfilms. One of the intelligence men still cannot get over it: "That man is really something special; what a terrific job he did."

Among the Stiller documents the BND officers found a grey, slightly faded piece of paper which aroused their particular interest. The first page had a red diagonal bar across it and was stamped "top secret." The last page bore the signature of Mielke, colonel general.

Some of the security service abbreviations and the bureaucratese contained in "Order No 21/74" had to be explained by Stiller; but some of it even he could not decipher.

But when it was all done, the BND analysts had obtained a fairly complete picture of what is done in the GDR with respect to pursuing and documenting, to bugging and taking photographs, to breaking in, stealing and opening mail—all of it designed to afford "the GDR full-scale protection" from the workings of the Western class enemy. What the document calls "political-operative security" in actual fact amounts to total surveillance of diplomats and journalists.

"Everyone knows that this is the way it is," an official in the chancellor's office says. "But now we have a document with Mielke's signature on it—and that hurts then."

The Mielke order was issued in 1974 after worldwide recognition of the GDR opened the country up to a large number of foreign diplomatic missions and Western journalists—which must have been a nightmare for Mielke. "Order No 21/74" starts out with the following flat statement:

As a result of the establishment of missions by other governments, the activities of international organizations and privileged persons, of accredited media as well as their permanent and traveling representatives (hereinafter referred to as missions, privileged persons and correspondents) the ministry for state security is faced with new and complicated political-operative tasks designed to assure full-scale protection to the German Democratic Republic.

The tasks in question included the prevention, discovery and "processing" of "subversive acts and criminal offenses committed by these persons" as well as "enemy activities" in general. As far as the SSD is concerned, this covers just about everything a diplomat or Western journalist in the GDR does or does not do—even if it is not prohibited under the existing tight laws. To detect such "activities," it is necessary to control all movement, all conversations and other contacts "throughout the GDR and in the operational area."



Just how far the "operation area" reaches it made quite clear. The order calls for:

the realization of operative observations, investigations and inquiries as well as other operative measures, particularly in West Berlin and the FRG on the basis of verified requests for assignment.

The allies in West Berlin are placed under surveillance as well. In this regard the order calls for:

the general utilization of the operative capabilities of official and unofficial forces including their operative-technical resources which are assigned to securing, controlling and placing under surveillance the transit routes (roads) and to gathering intelligence on the activities of the three Western military liaison missions and military inspections.

Even before he took on his new job as permanent representative in East Berlin, Klaus Boelling knew what awaited him. To make it more difficult to record what was being said in his offices, he should play music—preferably Mantovani cassettes—was the advice he was given by interior minister Gerhart Baum at his farewell party in Bonn.

At first, those who work for Boelling say, one tries to outsmart the bugs by whispering and staying as close as possible to the person one is talking to. But after a while, press spokesman Christian Schmittlein says, the feeling of being constantly watched and overheard becomes unbearable. "You simply repress it so as not to go out of your mind," he adds.

Kielke's surveillance system is a model of perfection. In the house across from the Bonn mission on Hannoversche Strasse, his men take up an entire floor with their sophisticated technical equipment. And the Vopos in front of the building serve less to protect the West Germans than to exercise control.

One of them regularly picks up the telephone whenever Boelling leaves his office. Wherever he goes, Boelling knows that his route is reported onward step by step—in compliance with "Order No 21/74" which calls for "the surveillance of travel" by diplomats and journalists and for "the continued expansion of telephone communication points and message centers."

But all this is merely a part of what amounts to total surveillance. To make sure it is effective, Kielke also asks for:

total utilization of existing observation posts and establishment of new ones in the missions, residences, living and recreation centers of non-socialist and other countries of political-operative interest as well as at territorial nerve centers of surveillance in the capital city of Berlin and throughout the GDR;

extensive work with naturally enclosed spaces; creation of additional artificially enclosed multi-purpose spaces—designed particularly to enhance conspiratorial activity for the solution of surveillance assignments;

continued augmentation of procedures concentrating on specific offenses by resorting to

routine surveillance of persons for a limited period of time,

priority and round-the-clock surveillance to follow the movements of the persons concerned on the basis of political-operative information or observation,

on-the-spot observation, primarily in order to verify and document known meeting spots and points of contact.

Particularly during his first few months on the job—while Mielke was still unfamiliar with the life style and the daily routine of the new man from Bonn—Boelling was shadowed very closely indeed. Recently, they have been spying on him a bit more once again so as to keep an eye on his contacts with the evangelical church, Boelling thinks—because the SSD is downright alarmed by the budding church-supported peace movement.

Diplomats and correspondents have seen often enough just how effective the surveillance really is. As soon as they drive off into the country a car begins to tail them discreetly or not-so-discreetly or, for that matter, waits for them as their destination—as the tortoise does for the hare in the old fairy tale. And even during the trip they are overheard: in 1979, West German security agents removed a bug from inside Guenter Gaus' official Mercedes.

West German correspondents are often bugged quite openly. Whenever ARD or ZDF reporters conduct interviews with GDR citizens with official permission, there are any number of SSD men around taking notes and photographs—another example of "priority and round-the-clock surveillance."

For weeks, ARD correspondents Fritz Pleitgen and Lutz Lehmann were shadowed every inch of the way as they tried to set up a program on GDR writers. The SSD placed the houses of authors to be interviewed under surveillance, as for example that of Stefan Heym and Guenter Kunert—a case of "on-the-spot observation."

There were at least ten agents following the then SPINDEL correspondent Ulrich Schwarz when he went on assignment to Eisenhuettenstadt to find the foster parents of two forcibly adopted children. They were always by his side—as he strolled, as he ate, as he looked at what the supermarket shelves had to offer.

There was a whole crew waiting for Schwarz as he came out of Rudolf Bahro's house in the early summer of 1977. At the time, Bahro was about to publish his book, "The Alternative," thinking he was still unobserved.

The big fuss had a dual purpose: it was to impress upon the journalists that Erich Mielke always kept an eye on them and that there was nothing that escaped the SSD.

But above all it was addressed to the citizens of the GDR itself: they are meant to be cowed—which hardly ever succeeds, as Pleitgen reported to ARD headquarters on more than one occasion. East German vacationers, for example, warned the reporter and his team on location at the Panorama hotel in Oberhof in Thuringia whenever agents with microphones and tape recorders set up at an adjoining table.

The SSD specialists assigned to "privileged persons and correspondents" are divided into separate units most of which are merely identified by a capital letter. For investigations, unofficial agents—so-called IME's—are sometimes used. So-called U-agents are those not to be seen—to be hidden, for example, inside a van equipped with eye slits. They are also earmarked for "perspective development," which is to say for assignments in the West.

Just how well organized the "company" (as it is popularly called in the GDR) is organized is shown by the IM/GMS's. These "industrial agents security" are drawn from all sorts of plants in order to corroborate "fairy tales." If the MfS sends someone from that plant to the West, for example, the agent will respond to questions by saying that his colleague is working on preparations for a display at the Leipzig Fair or some such thing.

In the "Order No 21/74," Erich Mielke called for special support to another category of "observer units:

Care must be taken to make even more use than heretofore of agents with foreign language capabilities, of women, of married couples and of entire families for the purpose of specific operative surveillance.

The "main department cadres and training" is instructed to provide for a "continuing supply of young cadres with development potential for operative surveillance from the districts and kreises, taking care to select a proportionate number of women and foreign language specialists."

Until now, the HND did not know that the SSD hires on entire families. As for women, they have long been part of the complement when it came to espionage or informer activity. Sexual relationships are used to compromise and blackmail foreign diplomats.

The Soviet KGB is particularly well known for working with decoys. There was an attractive female agent who played up to the then French ambassador in Moscow, Maurice Dejean, in the early sixties. And the Conservative British MP and businessman, Anthony Courtney, was photographed by the KGB in a Moscow hotel in 1961 in a compromising situation.

His relationship to a Russian woman turned Keng Su, the code clerk at the embassy of Singapore, into a spy. Last year, the KGB tried to rope in the U.S. assistant military attache, James R. Holbrook, with the help of a girl. While on an inspection tour, the American was photographed in bed with a woman after a party.

Foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has learned "from studying the documents" that his diplomats should beware of ladies who smoke in bed. This gives the intelligence services enough time—"one cigarette length's" time—to take pictures with invisible infrared light. It is best, so goes Genscher's advice, to take up with women who do not smoke.

Klaus Boelling takes an even dimmer view of things. At regular intervals, he instructs all those working at the Bonn mission in East Berlin

to divulge all contacts of a private nature to counterintelligence officials;

to report immediately on any attempt by the MfS to hire anyone on as an agent;

not to take on any GDR employees, if possible.

But it is not quite so easy to blow the cover of Mielke's agents. They have undergone through training before starting to work on Westerners.

At the "legal institute and technical school," operated by the MfS, they are taught the "basic concepts of operative surveillance and the procurement of safe houses." The one-year course of study is equivalent to an academic program. The curriculum not only includes courses on Marxism-Leninism but also on crafts and skills such as radio operation, coding and the establishment of letter drops.

In addition, they are taught to "understand the regime," which includes lectures on daily life in the West—such as how to obtain a driver's license or how to get married, all of which an agent needs to know if he wants to discharge his assignment in the West successfully.

The minister's order contains additional details on how Mielke's army works which, by Western estimates, consists of 17,000 regular employees and another 100,000 secret informers.

GDR citizens working for diplomats or journalists are to be used to obtain information. Janitors, for example, often have extra keys. The cleaning crews, supplied by the state "service exchange" are charged with spying in the offices and apartments, to make reports or, as Mielke would say, "collect information."

There is also a need for the "collection of information" on GDR citizens, stateless persons and foreign nationals "who establish or maintain contact to diplomatic missions, privileged persons and correspondents." They are taken to task, questioned and, at any rate, thoroughly intimidated.

In Dresden, a young man who had spoken to Boelling was immediately interrogated. Just recently, the SSD questioned a pastor's wife after she talked to Boelling.



Intimidation is part of the standard repertory with the state security people worrying very little about the rights of their own citizens. When Robert Havemann's daughter Sibylle, who has since moved to the West, met with a SPIEGEL reporter soon after Wolf Biermann's expatriation in a courtyard on Chausseestrasse in East Berlin, three men appeared in the semi-darkness and interrupted their conversation. They paid no heed to their protests that their actions were against the law, since private conversations between citizens of the GDR and West Germans are not prohibited.

Protests by correspondents about such incidents are answered with no more than a shrug by officials of the East Berlin foreign ministry.

"Collecting information on privileged persons and correspondents," as outlined in the Mielke order, includes spying on their surroundings, even on such intimate details as "their friends and relatives, their love life and operatively significant relationships, contacts and meeting points."

Even contacts to the Allies in West Berlin are carefully controlled, particularly in order to "combat subversive slave trade" (the GDR term for helping people escape). For this reason, "political-operative counterintelligence activities" must concentrate on

the determination, exposure and documentation of contacts and relationships between members of the three Western military missions, military inspections, privileged persons and correspondents as well as their division of responsibilities and their coordinated subversive activities.

The program further calls for

the continued expansion of the operative basis both in the capital city of Berlin and throughout the GDR as well as in West Berlin and the headquarters of the three military liaison missions in Potsdam.

"Unofficial personnel working in the operational area, particularly in West Berlin and in the FRG" are to participate in surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities. This calls for hiring on new talent in the FRG or as the order puts it:

continual expansion of the operative basis by adding on capable, unofficial personnel from the operational area and from the GDR.

So as to assure smooth cooperation between East and West, the Mielke document calls for "uninterrupted surveillance of privileged persons and correspondents as they cross the frontier into West Berlin or the FRG."

SPIEGEL correspondent Schwarz is witness to the "company's" extending its surveillance to West Berlin. On the day expatriated Wolf Biermann's visa ran out, SSD men started hanging around in front of the SPIEGEL office on Kurfuerstenstrasse and sat down at the adjoining table when Schwarz went out for lunch. The apparent reason was that they thought Biermann might want to return to the GDR as he had said—inside the trunk of Schwarz's car; correspondents' cars not being checked upon entering East Berlin.

Diplomats and journalists who work in East Berlin are always faced with the possibility that they will be shadowed on trips to the FRG or West Berlin in order to gather information on contacts with "imperialist intelligence services, subversive organizations and institutions, groups and individuals"—whatever this may mean in the MfS terminology.

It is not only important to "identify the offices visited" but other "meeting places as well as supply and procurement facilities" and to gather information on "relatives, friends and acquaintances of the privileged persons and correspondents" as well as "to ascertain and check out their transient quarters."

The primary purpose of this total surveillance is to provide as complete a personality profile as possible. Defector Stiller brought along several such reports. There is particular interest in details of a delicate nature. Human frailties, such as homosexual tendencies are used for possible blackmail purposes.

In order to "achieve maximum results" and "tighten secrecy," the "Order No 21/74" contains explicit operating procedures on camouflage tactics, listening devices and break-in techniques. "Manifold possibilities for altering" exterior and interior settings are to be used in order to "camouflage all sorts of vehicles" for purposes of secret surveillance.

Normally, Erich Mielke's men are easily recognized by their plastic coats and imitation leather jackets; but on particularly difficult jobs they are asked to use "disguises including a variety of devices" as well as wigs and "facial cosmetic aids."

"One should be in a position to use the same man for surveillance for a relatively long period of time," an intelligence professional says. "He must not let the suspicion arise that he is the same man that was there the day before."

In order that everything comes out right, "more use is to be made of personnel trained as makeup artists and hairdressers to instruct operative personnel in the application of disguises."

Everything else that is required in the espionage trade comes in for detailed description. First of all, "commercially available technical equipment" is to be obtained— not only in the GDR but throughout the "operational area."

Beyond that, Mielke appeals to the inventiveness of his men. They are asked to develop further or come up with new versions of all sorts of "operative-technical devices and disguises including those of a mechanical, electronic, photo-technical, optical, acoustic or TV-technical nature."

Western diplomats have gotten used to these practices.

Like other FRG embassies in the East bloc, the West German mission in East Berlin has a secure conference room, the so-called "bower." Before Boelling came on the job, security experts with vacuum cleaner-like devices gave the place a going-over. When they found nothing, they took this as proof that the MfS had done its job well.

To conduct private or, for that matter, political conversations outside the bower, diplomats prefer to go on walks. Helmut Schmidt, too, felt like being out in the open air while visiting the GDR. So as to be undisturbed, he went strolling along the Werbellinsee with his Bonn entourage. Boelling's people can often be seen walking among the gravestones of Dorotheenstadt cemetery close by the mission.

There is more than ample proof for the existence of socialist bugs in the walls. Experienced diplomats have learned how to use them for their own ends—for instance for the purpose of registering complaints without wasting time by going through official channels.

Angered by the fact that two Russian limousines were blocking the entrance of his residence, West German ambassador to Prague, Ritzel, threatened in his office to surround the Soviet embassy with all his official cars. That very night, a tow truck came by and removed the offenders. At the foreign ministry, Ritzel was told to address his complaints directly to them in the future.

During interrogation following his arrest, GDR dissident Bahro was told the SSD had recorded all conversations in his apartment in Streustrasse and in that of his girl friend in Rheinsberger Strasse—including conversations with West German journalists about his book, "The Alternative," and about plans for a pre-publication serialization in DER SPIEGEL." Erich Mielke knew exactly when and where "The Alternative" was going to be published. Why he still decided not to intervene, remains a secret until this day.

TV correspondent Lutz Lehmann was amazed when he was summoned to the foreign ministry and told he would not get permission to do a program on GDR authors, which at that time was barely in the planning stage. He had not even mentioned the project to any official agency of the GDR as yet.

Mielke's order explains how the SSD succeeds time and again in installing listening devices without being noticed. A careful study is first made of all the pertinent plans and then the operation proceeds in gangster-movie style.

"To do an expert job," the document states, "one must obtain the floor plans, construction diagrams and data on wiring and plumbing for both the properties themselves and the buildings on them."

West German counterintelligence specialists are impressed. "To install wiring for listening devices, is a difficult business," they say. "It is much easier to conduct the impulses via existing conduits through the sewage system."

But in the end, MfS department 26 which is responsible for these things is not all that perfect, either. They, too, make mistakes.

Witness the case of a correspondent who lifted the receiver again shortly after finishing a telephone conversation and hearing the last few sentences the man at the other end had just spoken once more. In the midst of a conversation with Gaus' press spokesman Johannes Rieger, another correspondent heard another voice saying "Rieger is calling..." all of a sudden—obviously an indication that those listening in were telling each other that Rieger had a journalist on the line.



In Schwarz's case, the SSD even acted as an answering service. When Sibylle Havemann called the SPIEGEL office in East Berlin to cancel an appointment her father had made, a woman told her Schwarz had gone out to eat but that she would see he got the message. The correspondent spent the rest of the day waiting for Havemann in vain. It had not been his secretary who took Sibylle Havemann's call.

Such trifling incidents probably do not embarrass the MfS as much as the fact that "Order No 21/74" discloses an East German intelligence activity which runs counter to the laws of all civilized states: Mielke's specialists are notorious burglars, acting on orders from headquarters.

Correspondents and diplomats in East Berlin had often suspected that someone had gone through their office or home during their absence. "There are reliable indications for the fact that the mission's offices were searched," one of Boelling's people says.

When ARD correspondent Pleitgen and his family returned from a trip, they not only discovered footprints in their apartment on Leipziger Strasse but also a GDR-manufactured long-handled comb in the bathroom. Pleitgen reported the incident to the janitor. His complaint was in good hands: the janitor, say those who live in the building, is an MfS sub-lieutenant.

From now on, diplomats and journalists can quote a first-rate source when registering their complaints. According to the Mielke order, burglaries are among the authorized assignments given to "specialists who conduct secret searches of houses, apartments, rooms, automobiles and containers."

What the MfS specialists should look for is spelled out in detail. They are to find and confiscate evidence such as documents, espionage data, listening devices and any other subversive materials.

The burglars are also charged with finding and rendering useless any alarms "the enemy" may have installed. The exact purpose is to

find and render useless mechanical, electronic, photographic, optical, acoustic, television and other security appliances and devices of the enemy as may have been installed in houses, apartments, rooms, containers and objects.

But first the MfS specialists must obtain permission—if not from the courts or a parliamentary committee at least from their own boss. He is personally responsible for each such assignment:

Arrests, temporary detentions, admissions, official and secret searches in connection with missions, privileged persons and correspondents must first be cleared by me or my first deputy.



There is still one more slight difference between them and their West German intelligence counterparts: While the BND and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution may have an only limited exchange of information with other agencies, it is the MfS' duty to give "all-round support" to the entire government apparatus.

Many tasks which are handled overtly in the FKG are part of the MfS area of competence in the GDR. Travel, for example, is controlled by MfS' department VI. It is responsible for "rapid and secret transfer at border crossings, Interhotels and international camping sites" and for supplying "analytical findings on frequency of travel across borders" as well as "photographic documentations and other comparative data."

The protection of "installations" is the responsibility of department VII which, according to the Mielke order, is charged with making available "regular slots for the establishment of an operative unit to be included in the detachment guarding foreign missions."

Traffic police, municipal police and customs officials are drawn upon by the MfS. "Experienced personnel" are given "partial" intelligence assignments.

A "rear echelon services administration" is responsible for logistics. It is charged with providing appropriate sites and buildings needed "to house surveillance units and to establish observation bases and observation posts."

Given the otherwise perfect system, there was one small point with which the BND is familiar that made them wonder: Is Erich Mielke above opening other people's mail ?

Well hidden on page 16 of Mielke's order there was an indication of it after all. In that passage, the minister asks to have

data transmitted which are obtained as a result of political-operative work conducted by departments M and 26.

Defector Stiller managed to break the code: In department 26, the tapes containing the recorded conversations are stored. Department M, on the other hand, is where the postal censors are located. Central post office boxes assigned to the Western correspondents make their work easier. Only special messengers are permitted to deliver the mail.

The journalists have known all along that their mail is being censored: the mutilage made in the GDR the censors use is of miserable quality. Anyone wanting to avoid being spied on gets himself a postal address in West Berlin.

Even diplomats from the fraternal socialist nations are making use of this trick. East bloc embassies do not trust the GDR much, either and would rather have their mail sent to West Berlin.

### Speculations on Spy Chief's Replacement

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 5, 1 Feb 82 pp 58-59

[Unattributed article: "GDR Clandestine Service: The Ace—Will Markus Wolf, the GDR's Legendary Espionage Chief, Soon Be Relieved of His Duties ?"]

[Text] In his private surroundings—Elsastrasse 38 c in the East Berlin district of Weissensee—the stately 50 year-old man has not attracted much attention up to now. He is heavy-set, just under six feet tall, blond and balding and speaks the Halle dialect "a bit like Genscher."

His family—his wife and three grown children between the ages of 17 and 23—seems well off. They appear to have everything they need. Their second car, a Trabant, is parked in front of the door. Pather himself drives a dark-blue Fiat Mirafiori, license number IB 07-08. As of Friday, the apartment often stands empty; the family then leaves for its dacha.

Their weekend retreat is in Teupitz, southeast of Berlin, where an entire colony of well-known pillars of the system dwells. Officers of the MfS are among themselves there. The unobtrusive man from Elsastrasse fits into this community very well—he sees most of his weekend neighbors on weekdays as well.

His name is Horst Vogel. He is a general and the head of the science and technology section of the MfS main intelligence department (HVA) which is the ministry's espionage apparatus.

Under him, Horst Vogel has the espionage departments 13, 14 and 15 (procurement) and 5 (analysis) whose agents are systematically spying on Western research and industry. They help the East bloc overcome the technology gap. Above all in physics, chemistry, electronics, material technology and nuclear energy, Vogel's men pick up "just about everything they can lay their hands on," according to officials of the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

As head of this vital section, Horst Vogel, 50, has no doubt moved very close to the top by now.

Western intelligence experts look upon him as the "man of the future." There is only one man ahead of him and that is Markus Wolf, the spy chief whom even his Western counterparts respect.

Expectations that Vogel "may very well be next in line," as a high-ranking FRG intelligence official put it, have been fueled by events which have served to detract somewhat from Markus Wolf's legendary reputation.

Western agencies reported on some escapades involving the HVA chief over the past few years. On one occasion, Wolf went to Stockholm to conduct a personal interrogation of Friedrich Gremer, an SPD deputy to the Bavarian Landtag who has since been convicted of espionage. Wolf was accompanied on this trip by his third wife

among others. While there, they bought furniture for their personal use and took in some sex movies. By adopting the phony name of "Dr Kurt Werner," the spy chief aroused more than usual attention among the intelligence community and was finally even photographed.

It also became known that Markus Wolf was intervening on behalf of his brother Konrad, the film director and president of the GDR academy of fine arts who got into trouble with the system by maintaining contact with GDR dissidents. The spy chief managed to forestall his brother Konrad's threatened removal "from public functions in our society."

Aside from private circumstances which give proof of Wolf's vanity, nepotism and consumer mentality—he not only has a Volvo 244 GLE but also a Russian jeep with which he races through the countryside—the spy chief made an official blunder, too. For years, HVA First Lieutenant Werner Stiller managed to work as a BND agent right under his nose. When Stiller finally defected, the data he provided were particularly harmful to the science and technology section..

Recent visitors to the MfS found Wolf to be unexpectedly expansive at times. On the outside, he still conveys the appearance of functional bustle, dressed in his worn, dark suit. But those who have talked to him have noticed that he likes to talk about old times, about way back when in the Soviet Union and that he gets off on a sidetrack talking about a school that was recently named for his father, the dramatist Friedrich Wolf, or about the peculiarities of his Lada Niva jeep.

Defectors say that there are signs already in everyday HVA practices that point to the possibility that Vogel may soon be replacing Wolf. Western counterintelligence sources know something about this thanks to the pertinent MfS documents copied by Werner Stiller. They classify Vogel as "very ambitious, egotistic, image conscious; great intellect, good judge of people, excellent speaker, very good memory." Among the officials at the ministry Vogel is known as "the ace."

Using at least a half dozen false identity papers and diplomatic passports, Vogel spends time traveling abroad but avoiding countries like France and Great Britain that secretly photograph such documents, as the HVA has found.

There are no personal reports of meetings with Vogel except for that of former agent Reiner Fuelle, who later returned to the MfS. The MfS general once invited Fuelle to a drinking party at a guest house in the Thuringian Forest at the conclusion of which a number of his hosts had "passed out."

There are only peripheral indications for a mixing of private concerns with business: one of Vogel's sons works for the MfS. On one occasion, so the HVA grapevine has it, an agent was asked to buy a color television set ("for official use") for Vogel in Vienna.

Based on what is known of his education and his party and functionary career, Vogel is the prime example of an achiever. He was graduated from the second track and studied "engineering economics" at the Leuna-Merseburg technical college.

Vogel had already joined the party at age 17 and the MfS at age 24. By 1973, he had already advanced to the top position in the "department party organization" to which the subsequent defector Stiller also belonged. Western intelligence experts say that Vogel, too, "made some mistakes with regard to Stiller and can be blamed for some of what happened." But this does not mean that his career has suffered badly as a result of the defector fiasco.

Even in Stiller's day, Vogel, who was a colonel at the time, was already earning DM 3,875 which is a great deal more than officers of the NVA of equal rank receive. As far as that goes, Vogel's connection with the military—highly decorated as he is—merely exists in the sense of rank and as a matter of form. Among his decorations are the "NVA medal of merit" in bronze, silver and gold; four medals "for faithful service in the NVA;" the "patriotic order" in bronze; the "DDR medal of merit," and the order "banner of labor."

Western observers are not yet clear as to when the "man of the future" might actually take over the HVA officially. Allusions to the fact that Markus Wolf has gotten old and will soon be celebrating his 60th birthday do not really amount to much. Wolf's chief, the minister for state security, Erich Mielke, will soon turn 75.

9478  
CSO: 2300/159



FRG COMMENTARIES ON MAINTENANCE, NEW ARMAMENT IN GDR ARMED FORCES

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German No 1, Jan 82 p 65

[Unattributed 'National People's Army' (NVA) feature article]

[Text] Maintenance and Repair, Undercutting Standards

Now and then journals of the National People's Army will address topics--apart from all loud routine propaganda--which show that the GDR Armed Forces, too, are faced with the very same problems that exist in Western armed forces, including the Bundeswehr. Reading the article by retired Lt Col R. Kunzmann, engineer, entitled "Constant Readiness of Armament Must Be Guaranteed," for instance, one finds that in a rather frank way he takes the competitive row about the "reduction of standard times" severely to task which was jubilantly celebrated and lauded as decisive improvement of "combat readiness" in other journals of the National People's Army. Among other things Kunzmann writes, "The hope that the introduction of new and most sophisticated weaponry would result in a reduction of time and work expended on maintenance and repair has proven deceptive. On the contrary: the expenditure has continued to grow requiring entirely new qualities in planning and organization if servicing and especially maintenance are to be carried out in a timely manner and to the extent required. This applies to the unit combat training and maintenance as well as to the technological and organizational sequence of maintenance." "Combat training means training troops in behavior standards and practicing skills. The level reached to date does take this fact into account, yet it is not satisfactory. It is a fallacy to believe that increased combat value can be attained by an increase in combat training and reduced maintenance times by cancelling specified activities."

"All efforts in technical maintenance must be concentrated on attaining constant and operational readiness instead of temporary readiness."

With regard to the undercutting of standards Kunzmann comments as follows:

"Good grades in combat training and in tactical training or the reduction of standard times, the consequences of which are borne by the weaponry and cause the soldier to use the weapon contrary to regulations, are useless and jeopardize the operational readiness of the weaponry. Possible results can be shown by means of the following practical examples:

The utilization regulation, for instance, requires that guns must be covered with canvas during marches. In order to attain good times when changing positions the soldiers frequently do not bother to cover the guns. This way the new position is

reached a bit faster, but due to the high level of soiling firing cannot be commenced until after a lengthy cleaning procedure.

A similar situation exists with regard to keeping to the specified driving speeds in the field (in competition). High-power traction gear on basic vehicles induce drivers to drive at faster speeds than permitted by the weaponry specifications. Thus the weaponry may be damaged during the march or may totally fail upon reaching the firing position.

Reasons such as saving fuel or sparing the weaponry are erroneous and false because failure to comply with the requirement of operating the equipment results in this equipment's having to be conditioned for some time during a necessary operation, or in failure of components, thus making the weaponry inoperable."

#### Anti-Tank Weapons of the National People's Army--The 100-mm Pak T-12

Since about 1965 the Soviet 100-mm anti-tank gun T-12 has replaced older and less powerful models in the GDR's National People's Army, the Soviet Army and other Warsaw Pact armies. Among T-12's predecessors is the 100-mm Pak M-1944, which was introduced by the Soviet Army after a brief development period in the next to the last year of the war as an answer to the heavy Tiger and Panther tanks of the German Wehrmacht, and its successor, the 100-mm Pak M-1955. In contrast to its predecessors which had a similar appearance and a rifled barrel, the T-12 is a gun with a smooth bore as initially developed by the Soviet Army for the T-62 combat tank.

Characteristics of this heavy anti-tank gun are the 6.48-m narrow barrel with a cylindrical, perforated muzzle brake ("pepper shaker" muzzle brake) and the recoil and advance mechanism located above the barrel behind the gun shield which is squared off laterally, and the extraordinarily large, half-automatic falling breech block.

The box-beam gun carriage with simple tires and one axis, trail spades and a collapsible metal tail wheel for easier swiveling of the unlimbered gun largely corresponds with the carriage of its predecessors. For anti-tank combat in direct laying Pak T-12 has an effective range of 1,000 to 1,200 m. It fires fin-stabilized ammunition similar to the one used by the 115-mm smooth bore gun of the T-62 combat tank. HEAT-FS (High Explosive Anti-Tank--Fin-Stabilized) shells featuring a V<sub>0</sub> of 900 m/sec and APDS-FS (Armor Piercing Discharging Sabot--Fin-Stabilized) shells featuring a V<sub>0</sub> of 1,540 m/sec are used. The latter have a tank penetrating power of approximately 400 mm from a 1,000-m distance.

The anti-tank gun can also be used as a field gun firing fragmentation H.E. shells during indirect laying. Its elevation is limited to -10° to +20° and limits the maximum range to about 8,500 m, however.

For close combat the T-12 is equipped with an infrared aiming device with which it can fight tanks during night time up to a distance of 1,000 m. A modernized design of the T-12 called T-12 A or T-12 M is to be equipped with a longer-range residual-light amplifier night-sight device and to feature a greater elevation capacity. By means of the passive residual-light amplifier, tanks can be spotted up to a distance of about 1,500 m without being able to locate the firing site of the gun by infrared detectors. Due to the increased elevation capacity the maximum firing range during indirect laying is to be almost doubled.

The National People's Army has started to use the MT-LB transport tank as a traction vehicle for the 100-mm Pak T-12 which weighs approximately 3 metric tons. It further accommodates the six-gun operators and the initial ammunition.

The anti-tank gunner battalions of the Motorized Gunners Divisions of the National People's Army are equipped with T-12s. They are composed of three batteries of six guns each.

9544

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS AGAINST OFFICIAL 'HATE' ATTITUDES REBUFFED

West German Commentary

Bonn (EW-TAGESDIENST in German No 18, 4 Feb 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Growing Criticism of Hate Propagated in Education in the GDR." A translation of the Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the GDR there appears to be a gradual increase of voices criticizing the hate indoctrination practiced in conjunction with military service. Church representatives and young Christians have repeatedly criticized the recently reinforced "indoctrination of hatred." The media are also receiving letters in which GDR citizens express displeasure with this type of education--signed, with name and address. Thus for instance some readers of the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG (LVZ) reacted to one article of that newspaper (LVZ 9-10 Jan 82) which preached hate for the "class enemy" by questioning the principle of hate indoctrination. Wrote one reader to the party newspaper: "Has not hate always been the mainspring for inhumanity, cruelty and murder, and was it not hate for an enemy, incited by those in power, which led to chaos for millions of innocent people?" (LVZ 28 Jan 82). He answered his own question: "Hate is the end of all humanity and of all human coexistence." Wrote another reader about the subject of hate: "Today's world situation is too serious for us to indulge in [hate]."

In reply, the editor replied that there are different kinds of hate. One must realize, he said, "against what, for what, why hate determines man's thinking and actions." As far as the SED paper is concerned, "hating the enemy means that alertness and defense readiness must not be neglected." Particularly in view of the serious and critical situation, he continued, "we must 'indulge' in it." The world does not contain love alone. "To ignore this," the LVZ continues, "would not only be a dangerous delusion; it would mean the end of any love at all."

SED Paper's Response

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 29 Jan 82 p 3

['Internal Politics' feature article by Dr Hans-Werner Stadie, deputy chief editor, LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG (LVZ): "Reflections on Readers' Letters to LVZ--What is the Meaning of Love and Hate in Our Times?" A translation of the 9-10 Jan 82 LVZ item cited below follows this article]



[Text] "Has not hate always been the mainspring for inhumanity, cruelty and murder, and was it not hate for an enemy, incited by those in power, which led to chaos for millions of innocent people?" writes Herr Bernd Meinhold from Wiederitzsch. The reader is referring to an article in our newspaper on 9-10 January 1982, dealing with the swearing in of young soldiers in our NVA and which mentions hate; hate for those who are endangering peace and against whom we must protect our state and our accomplishments.

Herr Meinhold's letter speaks of worry about peace being endangered and contains a denunciation of inhumanity and cruelty. He is particularly concerned with the concept of hate. "Hate is the end of all humanity and of all human coexistence," his letter continues. I cannot agree with the statements in the way they are expressed here. Can we not have understanding for the hate which millions of Soviet people harbored against German fascism and which they still have today? Must they not experience hatred, apart from sorrow and desperation, who suffered from the United States' atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and who will continue to suffer until the end of their lives? What feelings are experienced by those Vietnamese whose relatives became the victims of a cruel American war of aggression? Is not hate a part of the struggle of those African, Latin American and Asian people who are seeking liberation from brutal oppression? And should love be shown to a societal system which brings human and social ruin to more than 3 million unemployed in Great Britain and almost 10 million unemployed in the United States?

Many questions of this sort could be asked. The question which of necessity derives from all this goes as follows: Is for all those who feel hatred because their lives, their health, their human dignity is threatened, is hate for them the "mainspring" for inhumanity, chaos, cruelty, as Herr Meinhold maintains? I believe that the response to this question makes it clear that one must always determine against what, for what, and why hate determines man's thinking and actions. Hate is somewhat similar to war. Not everybody engaged in a war wants war or is eager for it.

War was imposed upon the Vietnamese people just as it has been imposed upon the patriots in the wars of liberation in El Salvador or Namibia. And if we speak of hate, we do not mean that fomented, blind hatred which creates destruction and chaos, but that hate which is directed against their perpetrators and which is intended to prevent inhumanity, cruelty and wars. To hate the enemy means that alertness and defense readiness must not be neglected. Because the enemies of humanity do not speak of hate openly; they convert it mercilessly into inhumanity and death. Unfortunately, history has often enough proven in a cruel manner that imperialist powers will not be deterred by anything in order to reach their goals. It would be most dangerous to deny this and, for the sake of love of life and humanity, to forget about hate for the enemies of peace and humanity. There is a saying to the effect that "charity toward wolves equals cruelty toward sheep." And another: "Guard your sheep, even if you cannot see the wolf."

The latter saying reminds us of the necessity for always being alert, even if the enemy cannot be seen every day. Certainly, our situation is somewhat different from that of those people on earth whose lives and liberty are daily and hourly threatened by an enemy within their own countries. But that must not impair our defense readiness and our alertness.

Another reader, Herr Sebastian Fleischhack of Leipzig, had this to say on the subject: "Today's world situation is too serious for us to indulge in [hate]." In my opinion, exactly because the situation is so serious and critical, it is particularly necessary for us to "indulge" in it. Whether we want to or not. This does not keep us from doing all we can for the sake of detente and that we engage in negotiations, to prevent the enemy's hate from resulting in war-like actions and destruction.

We are not yet living in a world where love is paramount. To ignore this fact would not only be a dangerous delusion--it would be the end of love altogether.

#### Need To Hate Enemies

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 9-10 Jan 82 p 11

['We and Our Times' feature article by Marlis Heinz: "Taking the Oath"]

[Excerpts] How close to us is the enemy really? In what guise does he confront us? And--do we hate him, passionately, not only because of our insight? In studying Marx, we realize that for the sake of profit, capitalism shrinks from nothing. For the price of its existence. Lenin proves it: "...from the political standpoint, imperialism consists of violence and the urge for reaction." Objectively. We can close the book and go back to our daily agenda. Certainly, our agenda includes solidarity with those who are directly confronted with imperialism's aggression; it also includes the task of making this state into a bastion of peace, with the use of our classic teachings. But is it enough to love everything that is good and peaceful?

Many a young wife thinks: what good is hate? The main thing for her is to love her husband, and then they would together get through his period of military service. But there is more involved than merely to live through it. She must stand by his side; and that would not amount to very much unless they both experience the hate for those who threaten us and who make it necessary for us always to be ready to defend ourselves. This hate must always be present just as much as love; it must never be confused with resentment against the officer who refused to sign a furlough slip. The issue is to be standing side by side; and standing next to him at the swearing in ceremony is only the beginning, certainly not the truly difficult task--only the beginning of responsibility.

9273

CSO: 2300/148

INTENSIFICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDY IN SCHOOLS URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 173, 26 Nov 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Some Students' Lack of Willingness to Perform." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] It appears that the SED is not willing to accept the insufficient willingness to perform on the part of some GDR students, nor will it condone the widespread disregard for political studies. In NEUER WEG (No 22, 1981), a paper addressed to party functionaries, Hannes Hoernig, the director of the Science Department of the SED Central Committee, urged that in all seminar groups a critical-creative atmosphere be developed, that the policy pursued by the Party be thoroughly discussed and that "conclusions be drawn for the student's own practical study efforts." According to Hoernig, only in this way would it be possible to prevent "students unwilling to perform from exerting a negative influence on the political and intellectual atmosphere—a situation still prevailing in spite of the increase in performance-oriented students."

The Central Committee functionary stated that it was necessary to establish the "ideological preconditions" for improved study performance. In this connection, he said it was imperative that "every single student participate in the study of Marxism-Leninism and that the independent study course not be curtailed."

According to Hoernig, the curriculum of the obligatory course in Marxist-Leninist fundamentals has been revised. Among other subjects, "the problems concerning political power, the leading role of the working class and its party" are to be studied in greater detail. In every lecture, the Communist world view "must be transmitted in critical discussions of unscientific theses and bourgeois strategies."

### SED Organ's Discussion

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 36 No 22, 1981 (signed to press 12 Nov 81)  
pp 865-870

[Lead article by Hannes Hoernig, chief, Department of Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Training and Education Remain the Most Important Task"]

[Text] Now as in the past few months, the tasks set by the 10th SED Congress determine the work of the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges of our country.

The necessity and the possibilities of an even better utilization of all material and personnel-oriented funds toward implementation of the requirements established by the 10th Party Congress in regard to scientific work, Communist education and advanced specialized training are being discussed creatively and in a true party spirit.

In substantiating the 10 focal points of the economic strategy for the 1980's, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, emphasized that science and technology increasingly determine the everyday life of the people in our country and also the standing of our socialist state in the world. Considered as a whole, these key areas represent a great challenge to the creativity and activity of all working people, but above all they are an all-encompassing challenge to science. If the possibilities offered by the scientific-technical revolution are to become the principal reserve for economic growth and efficiency, it will be necessary to utilize all of the scientific capacities available. And this goes for both of the crucial aspects of science: For research, the rapid transmission of its results to social practice, and for the development of a highly qualified, young scientific intelligentsia, which consciously and actively employs its knowledge toward the consolidation and development of socialism in the GDR.

#### Include Everyone in the Discussion

Thus it is of great significance that aside from the discussion concerning improvement of the effectiveness and quality of research at the universities and technical colleges a broad and constructive discussion has developed in regard to the problems concerning training and education--a discussion in which both the teachers and the students are participating. The party organizations are well advised if together with the Youth League they create the conditions necessary for making this discussion include everyone and raise the quality and effectiveness of the training process.

So far, the discussion has emphasized the significance of the Politburo Resolution--passed in March 1980--on the "Tasks of the Universities in the Developed Socialist Society" and of the resolution adopted by the Fifth University Conference, and it has underscored the demands formulated by the 10th Party Congress in regard to improvement of the students' training and Communist education.



## Graduates the Future Leaders

In the report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th Party Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker formulated the demands made by the developed socialist society on the graduates of our universities and technical colleges. "Socialism needs graduates who have at their command up-to-date scientific knowledge, practical skills and abilities and a rich, intellectual-cultural education. These must be graduates capable of independent scientific work and of responsibly applying scientific findings to practical work. Such graduates must be imbued with the true party spirit and they must show personal commitment in their struggle for innovation, for the consolidation of socialism."

What do these demands imply for the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges? They orient the comrades toward the high requirements imposed on the present-day students as the scientists of the 1990's, as the future leaders of social processes and allies of the working class. After all, it is the students who must meet the objectively heavier demands of the mature socialist society.

This means that one must make clear in the political work one thing in particular: To acquire the latest scientific knowledge and to employ this knowledge and these skills toward the further development and consolidation of the GDR is a crucial challenge to both the student and the teacher.

Most of the students show a great sense of responsibility in meeting the tasks and the hardships involved in the acquisition of scientific knowledge. This endeavor, this urge for knowledge and more and more knowledge is the basic precondition for a creative atmosphere appropriate to the objective of the course of study—an atmosphere in which the individual student's struggle for new insight, the dissatisfaction with the level of knowledge attained, and the desire to apply the knowledge become a guideline for all students. Along with the Youth League, the party organizations can do a great deal to increase the number of those students who in their studies show industriousness, thoroughness, discipline and honesty toward themselves and the collective. The significance of grades in tests and for reports notwithstanding, for the atmosphere in the collectives in which young scientists are developing, clear political-ideological attitudes and consistent actions are the best values for a successful course of study. In this way, the students develop a sense of individual responsibility for their studies and they become ready and able to do independent scientific work.

## The Key Area of Political Work

Most of the students regard their studies as the main field of political work and already at this stage they make an ever-increasing contribution to the consolidation of socialism in the GDR. The increased sense of individual responsibility is revealed in various ways, e.g. in the more efficient organization of independent study, in the study performance, in the solution of scientific problems, in the formation of a critical-creative atmosphere in the FDJ [Free German Youth] collectives or in the propaganda activity in the FDJ student brigades.

In order further to increase the students' willingness to perform, it is necessary to develop this creative atmosphere in all seminar groups, thoroughly to discuss the policy pursued by the Party and to draw conclusions from this for the concrete

study effort. Only in this way would it be possible to prevent students unwilling to perform from exerting a negative influence on the political and intellectual atmosphere--a situation still prevailing in spite of the increase in performance-oriented students.

#### Responsibility of the University and Technical College Instructors

The party organizations are aware of the fact that in these efforts the academic instructors are the best allies of the students. In contrast to other fields, in matters pertaining to education the personality of the instructor is of crucial importance. Textbooks, demonstration models and visual aids cannot and must not replace the personality of the teacher. It is precisely the academic instructor's role as a model that manifests the significance of the subjective factor in science and in the transmission of scientific knowledge. There are many facets to the effect of this model in the academic training and education process.

A factor of special importance in regard to the instructor's influence as expert, teacher and conscious, creative contributor to our socialist development is the lecture. Here the university and technical college instructor "radiates" the most lasting effect. In the lecture, the academic instructor should to all intents and purposes embody science, its essence, its role and responsibility for the socialist development. The lecture should not only deal with the theoretical foundations of the subject area, its fields of application and links with other fields; above all, it should supply seminal ideas, teach scientific methodology and provide impulses and stimuli for an independent approach to science. Students again and again emphasize that demanding lectures, the introduction to scientific work and the integration of the problems to be solved by them in larger economic and social contexts have an extraordinary educational effect.

#### High Degree of Quality in the Study of Fundamentals

Thus the socialist relations between university instructors and students are increasingly determined by the shared responsibility for the level of the training results, by the shared political convictions, by mutual respect and by the heavy demands both partners make on themselves. This socialist interrelationship largely determines the success of the entire training and education process. Of great importance in this regard are the transmission and the study of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

In scientific terms, i.e. in the terms employed by Marx, Engels and Lenin, to study the fundamentals means to link theory with life so as firmly to anchor both knowledge and convictions. The party groups and teacher collectives should discuss these problems and they should improve the organization of mutual assistance.

The objective formulated by the 11th FDJ Parliament--namely to make every single student engage in the study of Marxism-Leninism and to prevent any curtailment of independent study--concerns not only the FDJ, but also--and specifically--all the comrades engaged in the study of the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals. They and the party leaders attach great importance to the quality and effectiveness of the study of fundamentals.

## New Curricula in Accordance with the 10th Party Congress

The curriculum for the study course on Marxist-Leninist fundamentals has been revised in accordance with the directives issued by the 10th Party Congress. Its objectives are the following:

- Place greater emphasis in the lectures on the historic mission of the working class;
- deal more extensively with the problems concerning the political power and leading role of the working class and its party, the development of socialist democracy and the economic strategy pursued by the Party;
- place greater emphasis on the study of the classics and on the seminars dealing with the classics;
- in every lecture, transmit our world view in critical discussions of unscientific theses and bourgeois strategies.

The special courses for advanced students are being continued. In this regard, special attention is directed to the history of the SED. The special courses should be conducted by the best university instructors in the respective field, no matter whether they come from the Department of Marxism-Leninism or from other departments.

The requirement that the students do independent scientific work and responsibly apply the insight obtained to practical work is met above all by the students' participation in the scientific activity of both the department and the field and in the research work.

### The Study Course Is Creative and Productive

To recognize and better and better to perceive this responsibility calls for establishing the ideological preconditions for improved performance and for generating in all students an aggressive attitude toward their tasks. In this regard, the party organizations have always proved--and will prove anew--an important factor. Their experience shows that success can be achieved only through consistent and convincing action. Such action helps to find reserves, to demonstrate the close link between creativity and consciousness and to understand that creativity always presupposes knowledge, industriousness, thoroughness and discipline.

This realization affects all aspects of scientific work, since a higher degree of efficiency and quality is called for everywhere. This goes for the discovery or invention of new, hitherto unknown elements and it also applies to the laws and patterns in nature and society, to their effects and applications, to the practical application of research results and to the theoretically grounded and practice-oriented transmission and assimilation of science.

The development of a creative atmosphere presupposes lively scientific activity characterized by divergent opinions. In at least two respects, difference of opinions is an important foundation for scientific work.



Firstly, it is the prime mover and inspiring force underlying the creation of a truly creative atmosphere, the surest foundation for solid ideas, insights and research results, and an essential precondition for the responsible assumption of a justifiable risk in the research work.

Secondly, it is the best school for the budding scientists. It is only in truly scientific disputes that they can develop their abilities, talents and requisite personality attributes; only in such disputes can one implement the proven principle—"develop through challenge."

The world of social practice expects highly qualified cadres for the direction and planning of the social reproduction process and for accomplishing the research tasks in the combines, academies and other scientific institutions and—naturally—for the universities and technical colleges.

It has proved expedient to let the students participate at an early stage in scientific work via student circles, youth projects and lectures. In this regard, it is necessary to find out their abilities and talents and in the subsequent study years to organize their individual development so that demanding scientific tasks appropriate to their capacities may be assigned to them.

#### Improve the Complexity of Political Work

In regard to the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 10th Party Congress, the party organizations at the universities and technical colleges are confronted with manifold tasks. Above all, it is necessary further to improve the political leadership of the scientific processes. This will be all the more fruitful, the more we succeed in familiarizing all members of the leading educational institutions with the resolutions of the Party, in further developing their political consciousness and increasing their activity and willingness to perform.

The main objective is to develop a militant atmosphere in the party collectives and to organize the party forces so as to insure accomplishment of the tasks. Differentiated sessions of the active party membership or leadership, at which the participants—proceeding from the resolutions adopted by the Party—realistically and soberly determine their own position and discuss the resultant tasks, have proved an effective method.

#### Increasing Assistance Lent to the Young Functionaries

Special attention and assistance is directed toward those functionaries who must formulate and implement resolutions pertaining to practical work: The party group organizers and APO [department party organization] secretaries. In this regard, the assistance lent to the student party group organizers is of special importance, for they are our youngest comrades and they are about to acquire in their practical political work the skills needed by a functionary and at the same time to develop as active members of the socialist intelligentsia.

Under the direction of the Party, a process has developed at the universities and technical colleges, which is oriented toward increasing the effectiveness of scientific work beyond the hitherto customary extent and toward fully accomplishing the most important task of our country's leading educational institutions, namely to give the students the best possible training and Communist education.



**RECRUITMENT FOR WARRANT-OFFICER, NONCOMMISSIONED-OFFICER SCHOOLS ANNOUNCED**

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Feb 82 pp 1, 5

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces the voluntary recruitment of candidates for the following noncommissioned officer schools:

**Warrant Officer Schools:**

- Warrant Officer Mechanized Forces School in Elblag: 1-year school (for candidates who have completed or after admission to the school will complete, at least, 12 months of basic military service) as well as a 3-year school;
- Warrant Officer Radio Engineering Forces School in Jelenia Gora (2 and 3-year school);
- Warrant Officer Air Force Technical Personnel School in Olesnica and in Zamosc (2 and 3-year school);
- Political Warrant Officer School in Lodz (2-year);
- Warrant Officer Engineering and Military Transport Forces School in Wroclaw (2 and 3-year school);
- Warrant Officer Tank-Automobile Service School in Pila (2 and 3-year);
- Warrant Officers School of Internal Military Service in Minsk Mazowiecki (2-year);
- Warrant Officers School of Armaments and Electronics Services in Olsztyn (2 and 3-year);
- Warrant Officer Quartermaster Services School in Poznan (2-year);
- Warrant Officer School of Quartering and Construction Service in Giszyn (2-year);
- Warrant Officer Communications Forces School in Legnica (2 and 3-year);
- Warrant Officer Border Guard School in Ketrzyn (2-year);
- Warrant Officer School of Topographical Service in Torun (2-year);
- Warrant Officer School of Military Administration in Lodz (1.5-year).

Warrant officers schools prepare candidates for professional military service in the warrant officers corps.

Studies in warrant officers schools last from 1 year to 3 years. Applicants who are graduates of vocational secondary schools or liberal arts [college preparatory] secondary schools are admitted to the 1 and 2-year training periods. Those applicants who are graduates of basic vocational schools are admitted for a 3-year period of training.

The following conditions must be met by applicants to warrant officers schools:

- Polish citizenship,
- suitable moral values,
- ability to perform military service, in the capacity of a candidate for a professional serviceman [soldier], as certified by the military medical board,
- single status,
- up to 24 years of age.

Applicants competing for admission to the warrant officers schools submit applications-questionnaires to the commandant of the chosen school through the offices of the Military Recruiting Main Station appropriate for the place of residence while applicants from the military submit their applications through official channels. Application-questionnaire forms may be obtained at Military Recruiting Main Stations or in military units. The following should be attached to the application-questionnaire:

- an extract [short form] of the birth certificate and proof of Polish citizenship in the event that an applicant does not yet have an identity card,
- school record attesting to the possession of the required education (those attending the final grade of secondary school or of basic vocational school may present an appropriate certificate which attests to the applicant's attendance of the given grade);
- opinion [reference] from the school management, from a socio-political organization or from the place of employment.

Graduates of secondary schools are admitted to warrant officer schools without an entrance examination and on the basis of qualifying performance. However, they are required to take a physical fitness test and psychological tests. The remaining candidates are, in addition, required to take an entrance examination in the Polish language (written), in math (written and oral) as well as in a subject which would correspond to the field of learning in the given warrant officers school and taken within the range of required courses, in the basic vocational school which they have completed.

After passing final exams, graduates of 1 and 2-year warrant officer schools receive a diploma of completion from the school while graduates of 3-year schools receive, in addition, a diploma of secondary school completion. At the same time, they are appointed to the rank of junior warrant officer and called to professional military service which they perform in military units while holding official posts which correspond to the qualifications held.

The physical fitness test, psychological testing as well as entrance examinations to the warrant officers schools will be held from 9-15 July 1982.

AT THE SAME TIME, RECRUITMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR CAREER NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS IS BEING CONDUCTED TO THE FOLLOWING KINDS OF COMBAT ARMS AND SERVICES:

1) Mechanized Armored Forces, Rocket Forces and Artillery, Air Forces, Rocket National Air Defense Forces, Antiaircraft Defense Forces, Chemical Forces, Engineering Forces, Communications Forces, Radio-Technical Forces, Military Transport Service, Military Health Service, the Navy, Quartermaster Services, Armaments Service, Quartering and Construction Service, Internal Military [Domestic] Service, Border Guard Forces.

The following conditions must be met by the volunteers:

- 17 years of age completed;
- completed basic vocational school or at least two grades of secondary school;
- ability to perform military service;
- proper moral-political values and an unassailable past.

Applicants who meet the above mentioned conditions submit applications to Military Recruiting Main Stations and at the same time declare their desire to voluntarily fulfill basic military service.

Volunteers are called to basic service in the spring or fall of every year. Upon their completion of noncommissioned officer schools of basic service and appropriate practice in military units, they can be called to professional service already in the 18th month of service (after 24 months if in the Navy). They are then sent for 6-month courses to the appropriate noncommissioned officers vocational schools.

Applications to the naval Noncommissioned Officers Naval Career School and for professional noncommissioned officer training in other combat arms and services are being accepted all year.

Candidates who are applying directly to the Noncommissioned Officer Naval School in Ustka are obligated to take a physical fitness test as well as psychological tests and must pass a physical examination by the military Naval-Medical Board.

2) Recruitment is also being conducted to the Military School of Music of the Second Level in Gdansk. Applicants to this school must be 15-17 years of age and must have completed a school of music of the first level (in exceptional cases elementary school and musical talent). Applications for admission to the Military School of Music of the Second Level will be accepted from 1 June 1982.

3) Registration is also being taken to the Aviation Secondary School which is attached to the Officer Higher Aviation School named for Jan Krasicki in Deblin and its branch in Zielona Gora.

This is a military secondary school which implements the secondary school program and prepares candidates for service in the air force but, above all, for further studies in the Officer Higher Aviation School in Deblin.

Application for admission to the school may be made by candidates who possess Polish citizenship; who have completed eight grades of elementary school; have not yet reached their 16th birthday; who possess certain physical and mental abilities which are prerequisites for their future qualification for service in the air force and which have been determined by air force-medical examinations; who obtain written permission from their parents (legal guardians) to take up studies at the Aviation Secondary School; who submit a commitment certified by a legal representative (parents or guardians) to enter the Officers Higher Aviation School as a candidate for a career soldier or to another military career school.

Further information is given out to interested candidates to warrant officer schools and candidates for career noncommissioned officers by Military Recruiting Main Stations as well as by military unit headquarters.

9853

CSO: 2600/313



## CAUSES OF INEFFICIENCY IN POLISH SCIENCE EXAMINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Krystyna Jaworska: "Efficiency in Science--Criteria and Evaluations"]

[Text] One hears more and more often that we have trained too many scientific cadres in Poland, that neither higher schools, scientific institutes nor the economy are in any position to absorb them. In view of the economic reform and the new political situation, scientific employee anxiety with respect to their professional future has grown substantially greater.

Studies on solutions to the socio-economic crisis also require giving thought to measures which regulate questions of Polish science. A reverse linkage occurs here: actually science has to be an effective tool for overcoming the country's difficulties. Thus, special attention needs to be given to the utilization of scientific cadres.

## Against The Background Of Employment Forecasts

Up to now, plans for the development of scientific cadres were a resultant of the country's economic possibilities, the subjective theses of experts and pressure of informal groups having influence on the allocation of financial resources. A. Butler and J. Kornacki (authors of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] report issued in 1979, entitled "Directions, Methods and Scope of Training and Improving Scientific Cadres in Poland") have accurately observed that "evaluation of the degree of agreement between the current supply of scientific cadres and the country's needs is a very complex task. This results not only from the fact that there not only is a lack of directly verified relationships between the dimension of scientific potential and its constituent and selected dimensions which characterize socioeconomic development, but also because every kind of scientific activity (basic research, applied, developmental, et cetera) requires a different time horizon socioeconomic forecast".

A faulty development trend can be illustrated by statistical data drawn from the cited report by A. Butler and J. Kornacki: in 1966 we had 221,700 workers employed in science: 14.6 percent of this number were scientific workers, 16.1 percent were engineering-technical and equivalent workers with higher education, while those without higher education amounted to 30.3 percent. Ten years later the scientific cadre rose to 395,200 persons. It is an interesting fact that the number of workers without higher education fell by 5 percent.

The efficiency of scientific cadre work is dependent to a large degree precisely on the number of cooperating personnel. Meanwhile there is an average of one worker-helper of varying level of education per scholarly worker in PAN units, while in higher schools two scholarly workers must share one worker-helper.

### Efficiency Above All

The divergences noted can give rise to the suspicion that the policy of qualified cadre development had been an extensive one up to now. Staying in the area of the production sector, it is worthwhile looking at the results of the engineering cadre studies described by J. Tymowski in the 1978 PAN report ("Utilization of Highly Qualified Cadres"). The research conclusions clearly illustrate the inadequate utilization of cadres with the highest qualifications.

The author of the report states, among others, that: "the basic causes of the loss of engineer work time, without regard to the subsector in which they work are: faulty work organization, limitation on the right to make decisions, being burdened with low grade work, insufficient information, execution of needless tasks, inadequate fitting-out of engineering work posts, useless consultations and conferences, poor work discipline and inadequate motivation".

It turns out that the total losses of work time amount to 30 to 40 percent. This ratio is still higher for agricultural engineers -- up to 50 percent; 82.8 percent of specialist chiefs and 68.3 percent of specialists estimated that work which requires use of their qualifications occupies less than one-third of their time.

A highly qualified work cadre must be relieved of administrative and subsidiary duties.

What is necessary here is increasing the number of auxiliary personnel workers and treating obsolete qualification rate schedules in a solely general outline manner.

### Unrelated To The Economy

Economic units must be interested in conducting research, creating new products, processes and work methods -- this follows from the realities of the economic situation. A highly qualified work cadre must have motivations, including material ones, for intensive conceptual work. In exploring the causes of the low efficiency of Polish science we arrive at the most general observations.

Up to now, the area of scientific inquiries was evaluated by economic criteria in an inadequate manner. Hidden behind the low efficiency of Polish science is the lack of relating research-development programs to activity resulting from production programs, failure to link the work of the scientific base with the modernization activity of economic units to an adequate enough degree. I want to emphasize that economic reform is taking these deficiencies into account and placing emphasis on the development of Polish scientific-technical thought.

Among the many factors bearing on science's low efficiency it is necessary first of all to list the divergencies of views with respect to the utilization of scientific cadres which exist between planning centers and centers responsible for implementation.

A study by the Academic Cadres Development Group ("A synthesized evaluation of the hitherto existing state of satisfying as well as defining future needs with respect to scientific cadres in light of the implementations by the Second Congress of Polish Science") indicates that, for example, all Planning Commission assumptions relative to developmental units in the years 1972-1978 were not achieved.

Despite scientific community opinions, the Ministry of Higher Schools and Technology worked up scientific cadre development plans which assumed that the employment of all workers in scientific-research units would increase more slowly than would the employment of scientific workers. This led to a drop in the work efficiency of the scientific worker group and forced it to perform administrative duties.

These are only a few observations on the subject of low Polish science efficiency. The hitherto existing policy of utilizing highly qualified scientific cadres requires thorough analysis. This concerns not only practical proposals. Most important in my opinion is overcoming the distrust of scientific people who have been sufficiently discouraged by many declarations in recent years about appreciating the role of their group.

10433

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## POLICY CHANGES AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Feb 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] Warsaw University re-opened on 8 February. Although it is difficult to come to any conclusions after 1 day, it seems that right now good grades and scrupulous adherence to the study code are of the greatest concern to the students. The idea is to retain their student status.

This is understandable considering the fact that Warsaw University - like all other schools - operates under the regulations in law on schools of higher learning of 1958, the minister of science' guidelines on the activities of schools of higher learning during the martial law period, and temporary study code.

The most important change in the instructional process is the introduction of obligatory attendance of all classes as opposed to the usual practice requiring attendance of only labs with the penalty of failure to do so including an expulsion from the school. Until now the class schedules have not included this requirement and even now sometimes labs coincide with lecture periods causing considerable complications and problems.

Students violating martial law can be now expelled from the school by the rector without a disciplinary proceeding - who currently has independent authority in the school. The rector also can order a student to perform a socially useful activity for the school or national economy.

Many changes have been introduced to the regulations governing final exams. Thus, presently students have the right to repeat an exam only once (before they could do it twice), and it is more difficult to get permission for a commission exam. A year of study can be repeated only once for the entire period of studies, therefore, students who have used this opportunity once cannot do it again. The same concerns leaves of absence approved by the dean, excluding of course cases of prolonged illness.

Dr Stefan Makowski, Administrator of the Teaching Section of the Rector's Office at Warsaw University, told us that so far no student has been expelled from the University (including students interned during the martial law). There have been no personnel changes as well.



According to the science ministry the above restrictive measures will enable making up for lost time experienced during the fall-winter semester (it is surprising in this context that throughout the study break students registered for day classes were not allowed to use the main and faculty libraries; this certainly will not accelerate the attempts to overcome educational losses suffered).

The general principle of not extending studies and of continuation of programs prepared and approved at the beginning of the academic year, is still in effect. The deans of faculties have prepared make-up plans depending on the losses. Some of the make-up plans (with the exception of socio-political subjects) are extended over two or three consecutive semesters. It is also the deans who have been entrusted with the preparation of the winter examination session scheduled for the end of March - otherwise, both semesters will jointly continue through 25 June. The examination session will last until 15 July. Entrance exams are rescheduled for September.

As we know, all student organizations and the self-governing body were suspended during the martial law. Only those organs, whose activities are envisaged by the 1958 law, such as the senate and the faculty councils, continue their activities. The functions of suspended organizations are performed by specially appointed by the rector faculty representatives for social affairs for students and faculty, for sports, for culture, for dormitories, for instruction, for foreign students, and for enrollment for 1982/83.

Warsaw University reopened with a series of meetings with the faculty authorities during which the students were acquainted with the new regulations governing the operation of the school. For the first few days after their return to school, students from all classes, fields, and specializations in addition to attending regular classes will be required to participate in special study groups devoted to the current political situation in Poland.

8609

CSO: 2600/331

## SECONDARY SCHOOL ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS ANNOUNCED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by T.K.: 'Return to Entrance Examinations'-- New Regulations for Admissions to secondary schools will differ from the system of qualifying candidates on the basis of elementary school certificates which was in effect for the last 8 years]

[Text] Considering the suggestions of not only teachers but also public opinion, the ministry of Education and Upbringing developed new admission regulations which bring back entrance examination.

The draft of the regulations was prepared long ago. It was preceded by months of public discussions. Currently, it is being reviewed with teachers, school principals, superintendents and departments managing certain vocational schools. The ministry had intended to conclude this phase of work by 20 January 1981. Unfortunately, martial law, or more precisely, communication restrictions, are significantly delaying the consultation tempo, as well as preparation of the final regulations and their effective date.

In accordance with the new regulations, qualifications for secondary school candidates (general high schools, technical high schools and professional high schools) will be based on the grades attained by the student on examinations on selected subjects for a type of school and grades received at that "lower" school for Polish language, mathematics and a subject determined by the secondary school pedagogical council as a requirement of professional training. Consideration will also be given to the total grade average on the school transcript which forms the basic courses of that secondary school program. Then the total of all of those grades determine a candidate's qualification for secondary school.

Entrance examinations cover: a written examination on the Polish language and mathematics for all types of secondary schools, an oral examination on a subject appropriate to a given school, for example, history for (admission to) humanities and classics study high schools, physics for math-physics high schools. In the foregoing examples, the subject for high schools will be specified by regulations, while for professional (high) schools this will be done by the Educational Council. The Council will also specify two examination subjects for police schools.

Admissions to basic vocational schools will take place without many changes. The basis of admissions here will continue to be an elementary school certificate, except if the educational councils of such schools deem necessary, they will be able to conduct examinations, make verifications, or give qualifying oral examinations. This is to guarantee the proper selection of young people for specified occupations.

Working young people continue to have a guaranteed contract to work, the right to professional improvement in schools attached to work places, or others. However, the ministry leaves work establishments and the schools attached to them, a certain amount of freedom to make decisions relative to the possible conduct of training common to the school as well as the work.

According to calculations by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, during the current 1982/1983 school year there will be about 95,000 persons studying in general high schools, 84,000 in technical schools, and almost 40,000 in vocational high schools. More than 350,000 persons will begin study in vocational schools of all types.

Inasmuch as the education ministry regarded the number (of persons) admitted to general high schools last year as minimal, it was decided to increase the number of places in high schools this year at the same time increasing the proportion of students in such schools by 0.4 percent to a figure of 19 percent of elementary school graduates. This comes about as the result of a trend toward making secondary school education compulsory. Lengthening study in basic vocational schools to 3 years will also serve that goal. The new regulations also change the deadlines for the submission of applications and examinations. Even so, applications can be submitted up to 15 May. However, it is not yet known when they will begin to be accepted; that decision has not yet been made but, according to ministry assurances, that period should not be less than 2 months. Entrance examinations are to begin within 3 days after the end of instruction in the highest elementary grades and basic vocational schools.

As can be seen in this schedule, something new is the substantial time interval between the submission of applications and examinations. It was lengthened to give students, parents and schools time to orient themselves on the location of candidate surpluses and shortages and to permit a change in decision.

As the result of a certain amount of school work disorganization as the result of martial law and the planned conclusion of the school year on 18 June instead of the normal 10 June, entrance examinations will most likely begin on 21 June: however, as yet nothing is certain. We will notify readers as soon as the final decisions are made.

One more piece of information. The above changes do not pertain to the admission of pupils to first grade in primary schools. The responsibility for keeping a record of children subject to basic education rests, as always, on the principals of elementary schools, and as always, the parents of 6-year olds will receive notification to report to such schools. Some of the children will begin normal study a year earlier while the rest will undergo nursery school training or training in so-called zero classes.

1983

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## PAST ACTIVITY OF TEACHERS' SOLIDARITY CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Piotr Rządca: "What to Reject and What to Preserve in the Educational Community"]

[Text] The setbacks in educational activity in recent years have for the most part resulted from underinvestment, increasingly bureaucratized school management and a tendency to formalize teachers' educational activities, burden them with unjustified duties and restrict their personal responsibility and inventiveness while their social, professional and financial standing deteriorated.

Compounding these adverse developments were all the problems related with forced creation of gmina collective schools coupled with shortage of financial outlays add the implementation of an educational reform that encountered resistance among teachers themselves and raised concern about the fate of post-primary schools.

This generated a broad base of discontent among the teachers, including party members, who began to exert increasingly powerful pressure on their Union [Polish Teachers' Union, ZNP] to demand a radical change of this situation from the authorities. Such voices had been clearly audible even before the Eighth Party Congress but they were not taken into account. Not until the fall of 1982 was the ZNP able to extract a whole package of modifications from the authorities, which restored the teachers' trust in their union to retain their gains largely unchanged. A group of teachers, however, mainly those from secondary schools in larger urban centers, distrustful of the authorities and doubting the ZNP's ability to succeed, transferred to "Solidarity." Those teachers were the ones to yield to the ideological influence, organizational discipline and ordinary manipulation of persons whose intentions ran counter to genuine interests of this profession.

Those dishonest intentions can be retraced using major demands advanced by the leadership of teachers' "Solidarity" as an example.

One of them concerned the Teachers' Charter, blocked for a number of months by formal stratagems, e.g., on its name, applied by "Solidarity." That was not the real point. There was a desire to develop a law on education that would limit the state's influence on education, substitute "world outlook neutrality" for the principle of secularity in schools, permit reprivatization of a number of schools and facilitate implementation of an ideologically pluralistic educational program.



This maneuver failed because it was difficult to defeat the ZNP's no-nonsense position that agreed with the sentiment among a majority of teachers, including "Solidarity" members.

The demands for changes in curricula took a similar course. Doubtless, such changes were and still are desirable to bring the programs closer to reality, eliminate what is termed blank spots and weed out many simplifications. In history, for example, the point would be to restore the Marxist criterion of truth, meaning non-concealment of uncomfortable facts but rather analyzing them in accord with the state of scientific research in their total dialectical complexity and without politically opportunistic ad hoc evaluations. The demand of "Solidarity" negotiators, however, followed a different path, that of weakening all progressive trends in the programs, restoring myths that have long been abolished by science "debunking" that was intended to bring in new falsity and introduction of clearly anti-Soviet content. When this attempt failed, the "Solidarity" activists violated the law, trying to implant in some schools their own programs, their own publications and their interpretations, generating a climate of psychological pressure on those who opposed them.

Another example is connected with the socializing of schools. This slogan had been advanced earlier because of the realization of necessary closer connections of schools and society, the needs for increased influence of different communities on education and their rights to monitor it. Also, [there was a realization that it was necessary] to grant teachers, and pedagogical councils the right to administer schools. The Ninth Congress summed up these proposals and indicated in its resolution the need to establish a Council on Education. "Solidarity" on the other hand demanded that the state be totally excluded from all influence over schools except funding and that the school system be subject to supervision by bodies appointed by that organization. Again, violating the rules of law, "Solidarity" was striving to have the authorities confront accomplished facts, which was most clearly evidenced in the active strike in some Lublin province schools. Their management and pedagogical councils were deprived of authority and was transferred to strike committees and forces external to the schools. Additional classes of a distinctly anti-socialist nature were introduced. By forced appointment, a "council" was established, designed to take over the mandate of education superintendents offices in the future. It was thus another attempt to institute a new order which "Solidarity" intended to extend to other communities once some experience had been accumulated.

With all of these developments in the background, it was inevitable for divisions and dissension to come up in groups of educators at all sites where "Solidarity" had started its aggressive activity. Its impact was possible only because many teachers experienced profound waverings, failing to distinguish justified demands for change in the educational system from patently detrimental demands. Many were unaware of actual intentions of the leadership of teachers' "Solidarity," hidden behind endorsable slogans. Many teachers were constantly fearful of the fate of their charter, at the same time harbored numerous grievances against school administration.

Add that there was a serious weakening in the influence and activity of teachers' party subdivisions, blamed by their co-workers--undeservedly--for all errors in

the educational policy. For the most part, they were helpless when faced with demagoguery and, at the same time, they were deprived of their everyday assistance from higher echelons. In fact, only the struggle for the Teacher's Charter helped them to start consolidating in a joint effort with ZNP membership. Today the time has come for a substantive analysis of that period, most importantly, for a thorough appraisal of what is hidden behind the diversified positions taken by teachers. It would be inordinately detrimental if such evaluations were dominated by hasty and superficial conclusions, likewise, if clear presentation of the problems were avoided out of complacency.

Schools must be both socialist and democratic. These two principles are inseparable, although their implementation in the past was not uniform. If schools are socialist, this means they are preparing young people for the role of constructors, builders of this political system, and not its demolishers. If schools are democratic, they ought to be subject to society's impact and inspection, while being internally directed by teams of educators and preserving for the state those entitlements that guarantee implementation of national objectives of education. This is, of course, an encapsulation of a train of thought that is sufficiently lucid, perhaps, to permit determination of who opts for what.

It is impossible to monitor a teacher in every respect--he is alone in his contacts with his students. He must be granted a maximum amount of trust on the part of the authorities and society. That trust is based on the belief that the teacher is a government worker loyal to the policy of his state, that he is ideologically motivated for only then he can transmit the ideas of socialism to his students, and that he is responsible, therefore he will never consciously do them any harm in regard to morality or upbringing.

Expectably, most teachers, "Solidarity" members included, are able to meet these criteria. Only a very small group with distinctly antisocialist attitudes--exhibited in their practices--do not meet these conditions. Neither do those who ended up in schools by chance and are actually alienated from the young people and unwilling to accept the particular nature of a teaching job.

To put it simply, superimposed over the attitudes and views of a fair number of teachers are certain matters that need to be substantively clarified or resolved. Much aggravation against the authorities has accumulated over many years for their failure to settle financial issues--yet this is already changing. There are claims of excessive bureaucratization, curbing schools' independence and trends to autocratic school administration. Add to these the problems with curricula--disregard for schools' performance capacities, lack of assistance in instructional work and shortages of textbooks and classroom aids. Let us include here teachers' critical comments on distortions in ideological and upbringing work, formalized or pretended, which placed educators in a conflict of conscience counterposing the need to carry out instructions and the belief that the instructions are incorrect, misguided or educationally wrong. Mention can also be made of those shortcomings that result from a lack of consistent politico-ideological training of teachers to give a better grounding to their knowledge of society.

Eliminating these shortcomings from the schools and consistent activity by the authorities to bring about well-founded modifications in the educational system

will provide for the rectification of views among that group of teachers who wavered in their loyalty toward the state or expressed their embitterment through extremist criticizing of everything and everybody, while pinning their hopes on "Solidarity" even at the time when its leadership's moves had begun to raise increasingly grave doubts.

The educational community has begun a process of self-purification to remove the adverse phenomena of the past prior to August 1980 as well as the trends born in the last several months that were leading to a negation of the entire educational achievement of the postwar era. I am using the term self-purification because I believe that this must be done, before all, by the educational community itself since it is likely to be the best informed on what will benefit and what will harm education. It marshals sufficiently numerous social and political forces to accomplish this task in a substantive, equitable and objective manner--for the sake of its internal integration rather than for another breakup.

B795

CSO: 2600/323

## WESTERN COMMENT ON REGIONAL VERSUS CENTRAL INFLUENCES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Feb 82 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "From Bosnia to Slovenia"]

[Text] Belgrade, February—Metallurgical plants in Bosnia are now asking their customers even inside Yugoslavia to pay one-third to one-half in hard currencies for the products they buy from them. They say that they could equally well be exporting these goods. This is not an isolated situation. Now that those in charge of the Yugoslav economy are keeping an eye on the foreign trade deficit as such exclusively—in part under the influence of the IMF—and are instituting tight import curbs on the premise of "less foreign trade—less deficit", many Yugoslav firms can obtain raw materials only by paying their domestic trading partners for them in hard currency. Some time ago, when the guest worker wave crested, the peasants in Herzegovina were getting paid for their cows in DM, too.

But there appear to be other reasons for the Bosnian firms acting this way. Quite clearly, the purpose is to shore up the hard currency reserves of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a result of the Croatian events in the early seventies, every one of the Yugoslav republics and autonomous regions has been allowed to hold its own hard currency reserves. About 70 percent of the reserves—depending on the republics and the particular branches of industry—may be retained by the firms which can either sell them or use them to pay for imports in conformance with existing regulations. 15 percent go to the federal government and most of the rest is at the disposal of the republics themselves. This system causes problems continuously. The lion's share of Croatia's hard currency earnings, for example, comes from the tourist trade along its coast. Serbia and Vojvodina, however, say that they are supplying the hotels in Dalmatia with foodstuffs. The Vojvodina complains that Croatian buyers from "across the border" or nearby Serbian buyers come in to buy up agricultural products that could be exported at higher dinar rates than the "domestic" dealers and then export them in order to enhance their own foreign currency earnings. In foreign trade, barter transactions which by now are almost the rule must be handled within the individual republics. More and more, the member republics and the regions are being asked to provide hard currency to pay for specific imports such as oil, coffee and more recently even Western newspapers.

In view of this situation, many Yugoslavs are already saying that their country is split up into eight separate markets. The independent powers vested in the member republics, it is said, now exceed those granted to semi-autonomous Croatia after a lengthy struggle under the Cvetkovik-Macek agreement of 1959 which



was then felt to signal the end of national unity. The counter-argument offered is that national institutions do exist—such as the party, the police and the army—which place a tolerable limit on the "cult of statehood" prevailing in the member republics. Still, there are indications that these institutions can no longer be termed "centralist" in the true sense. To a degree, this applies to the police and to the party and events in Kosovo have now shown that even the army can be subject to local conditions, at least as far as territorial defense is concerned. Federal authority in Yugoslavia—this much can safely be said—is being reduced more and more to the sum of eight authorities wielded by the republics and regions.

But this increase in diversity also is a source of positive developments. Slovenia, whose foreign trade is balanced—albeit with the help of federal subsidies—stands out among the member republics as one boasting a moderate political climate and a consistently healthy economy. Leaving the special Kosovo situation aside, there now is a remarkably liberal atmosphere in Serbia thanks to the new era of "republicanism" which is reflected in the newspapers and in greater tolerance vis-a-vis intellectuals and the church. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the other hand, there are dogmatic-reactionary tendencies based on relative economic strength due to the availability of raw materials. In that republic, both the Catholic and the Orthodox church are being persecuted; intellectuals are being sentenced and publications are being printed that are referred to as the "central organs of the Yugoslav dogmatists." The results of the latest census in Bosnia—like those in Croatia and the country as a whole—on the relative strength of the various nationalities still have not been given out. It is conceivable that Bosnia will show a Muslim majority which would not be without political consequences once the result is made public.

Macedonia, too, is ruled by a dogmatic closed circle of functionaries which—not unlike in Kosovo—is opposed by a large number of young intellectuals who frequently give vent to their discontent through outbursts of nationalist aggressiveness. In Macedonia, the Albanians living there are persecuted. Croatia, for its part, shows two faces to the world, reflecting a kind of inner split. Modern economics coupled with a strong drive to promote their own economic interests exist alongside a sometimes archaic superstructure both with reference to communism and nationalism. Men like Bakaric and Perisin have long since ceased to be reformers and turned into backward looking Marxist economic ideologues. In these circles, such ideas as "private" issuing of money as existed in the era of the brothers Kugler or during the American gold rush are being propounded as part of "self-administration" of the plants concerned. Then there are young, quite personable albeit ideologically rigid "Croato-Marxists" such as a minister of culture Stipe Suvar. On the other hand, one cannot by rights call everything proposed by the nationally oriented intellectuals or the church as being in tune with the times. The whole business is made even more difficult because of the fact that 15 percent of the population and 30 percent of the party membership belong to the Serbian minority and that they constitute a particularly centralist and reactionary element among the Serbians themselves and, still worse, that the political police in Zagreb is preponderantly run by them. Sentences like the 11-year prison term given to Croatian "nationalist" professor Veselica to punish him for a handful of beer hall speeches are out of all proportion to the offense committed.

Conditions in Yugoslavia would be better, if the central government—either through the party or the government apparatus—would constitute the progressive element in all this diversity, pointing the member republics toward solutions along pragmatic lines. This, however, is not the case. The government—both the bureaucracy and the party central committee apparatus—is characterized these days by reactionary and even dogmatic factors. There is a party commission on cadre questions at the federal level but it is led by Mikulic, a Bosnian, given to dogmatic opinions and acting accordingly. Many people believe that this is the reason why leadership positions in Yugoslavia always rotate among the same group of functionaries and why new men are only considered, if they commit themselves to the traditional line. Of course, decisions in Yugoslavia today are arrived at in several different places. Nonetheless, one could see that recent impulses viewed as negative—such as all the economic restrictions and curbs or the campaign against an allegedly too liberal press—in many cases originated with the central government or party apparatus.

The question is often asked whether the locus of power in today's Yugoslavia resides in the party, in the state presidium or in the government apparatus. There is no simple answer; but it seems fairly certain that none of the three will let itself be used for the purposes of unilaterally establishing a new centralism. The constitution is important because it guarantees the role of the member republics as well as the consensus principle. From time to time, hopes are voiced that able leaders from this or that republic might be delegated to fill the appropriate positions at the federal level—such as Slovenians to run the economic ministries. For all that, such personages cannot always make a real impact and are instead "taken over" by the Belgrade bureaucracy. When that happens, they are referred to as "Belgrade Slovenes" or "federal Slovenes." More recently, a new epithet has come up—that of "federal Serbians."

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